April • 15c

Equality

THE AMERICAN WAY ★ EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Labor... The Klan Hates Them All

The Hooded Order in 1940

Shall It Be Again?

Lest We Forget April 6, 1917

by HARRY ELMER BARNES

FATHER COUGHLIN'S LITERARY FORGERIES

Labor and Democratic Rights:
Why the Anti-Trust Prosecutions?

by OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
and HENRY EPSTEIN

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION*

The R. E. A. is one of the troublers of Israel. Its function has always been to stir around on the frontier of social issues, to think and talk and agitate. It is not an action group. It has no program and wants none. The Association's functions are perennial and its goals are flying goals.

We are seeking, with all that is in us, to develop a philosophy adequate to the needs of men and women who are religious educators in the larger sense, who are interested in developing wholesome religious personalities in children, in youth, in adults—and in the social whole.

In the midst of a rapidly evolving society, a developing science, a questioning of every standard that is old and authoritative, some group of the most fearless and penetrating minds must continue to formulate and reformulate that philosophy. They must question relentlessly. They must be free to look with the most critically evaluative eye upon the most precious of all the heritages of the past. And they must be religious.

The members of the Association are that kind of folk. They work in many institutions, and individually represent every pattern of belief. In this fellowship they are free men and women who have no institutions to promote, no doctrines to defend. They are free to think and to criticize themselves and each other, and through joint effort to discover more truth.

We are doing what other organizations are not equipped to do. And why? Well, look at the table of contents of this Journal. Just turn this page and look! What other religious organization could put side by side, for comparative judgment, the three articles by Rabbi Brickner, by Father Russell, and by Otto Mayer? Or consider without bias the critical questions raised by Dimock and Higdon and Mrs. Wieman? And merge them in the mental hygiene approach of Patry?

Religion may be looked at the Protestant way, or the Catholic way, or the Jewish way. We are trying to look at religion as undergirding the whole of every one's life. We are committed to no doctrinal or institutional view. Is there any other organization free enough from overhead vested direction to do this thing?

Others are interested in developing practical programs for lay workers—worship programs, instructional programs, lesson outlines, and the host of other practical aids to effective workmanship. Valuable, necessary, but not our field. Our members obtain such helps, when needed, from other sources. Many of them prepare such helps for others to use. Many of them, in university chairs, teach practical directors of religious education how to do their work.

Our interest is in what lies *beneath* the practical programs. In this changing social scene what is religion all about? What can the churches do—and the schools, and the homes, and the state—to save the world from moral and spiritual bankruptcy? Practical programs are needed, but what is the goal to which they should lead? Catholics give one or two answers, Jews three or four, Protestants a dozen. The Religious Education Association is free to challenge them all, to work towards a synthesis of the best of them all, to search and to re-search for that underlying, unifying philosophy of religion and life that will coordinate the efforts of all good men as they seek to work towards a common goal.

We invite thinking men and women from all organizations to join with us, that from our joint endeavors they may receive new vision and perspective to carry back to their particular tasks.

Laird T. Hites, Editor.

* An Editorial reprinted from a recent issue of RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Membership in the Association, including subscription to the Journal, is $2.50 for the first year, after which it becomes $4.00.

Address: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago.

About This Issue

Just as three C's—Coughlin, Curran, and Cassidy—seek to exploit Catholicism for their own sordid aims, so that ancient pest, the three K's, is again trespassing on the Protestant side of the avenue. There are more similarities than differences between Father Coughlin and the Klan's brand-new Imperial Wizard Colescott: both are as sounding brass, and their movements stand alike for reaction and racial intolerance. What the new Klan, 1940 version, is doing is related in "Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Labor—the Klan Hates Them All," by HAROLD COY, Managing Editor of *Equality*. . . .

Busy men usually have avocations and express their personalities in them. The Priest of Royal Oak is no exception; see "Father Coughlin's Literary Forgeries." . . . It is refreshing to turn to the socially-minded film, "Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet," which reminds us that science knows no boundaries of race or creed. CARL MALMBERG, who does popular articles and radio scripts on health topics, is the reviewer. . . . From time to time we plan to run personality sketches of members of minority groups who have contributed significantly to American life; this month ALFRED J. BRENNER, short story writer, in "Is He American?" tells of Younghill Kang, Korean by birth, American by desire. . . . Thomas Paine, this month's "builder of democracy," needs no introduction, nor does ALBERT DEUTSCH, social historian and author of the series. . . .

Peace is always an appropriate subject, and never more so than at this time and during the month that marked our entry into the last war. HARRY ELMER BARNES, noted historian and columnist, recalls the fatal mission of Colonel House in "Shall It Be Again?" . . . The famous GEORGE GROSZ drawing of the crucified Christ wearing a gas mask, born of anti-Christian war to symbolize the Passion in terms of 1914 and 1915, continues to have terrific impact on the beholder in these days when, unfortunately, art's duty again becomes so to goad the spirit of man. . . .

The ferment at work among the American people on the issue of civil rights finds reflection in several articles and short features. "America's Voteless Millions," the story of the poll tax (and its results in the election of representatives like Mr. Dies, who got only the 12,824 votes of 5 per cent of the adult population of his district), is by HELEN BURLIN, New York writer who has been studying conditions in the South. . . . Not the least threat to democratic rights is the revival of the Sherman Act for use against labor. Critical articles by OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, eminent lawyer, and HENRY EPSTEIN, Solicitor-General of New York State, are here presented. . . . The book reviewers are JACOB KAPLAN, lecturer and writer, and ALBERT PARRY, editor of the *Hour* and author of *Whistler's Father* and other volumes. . . . Please read with thoughtful attention the message on page 7 titled "What Are Your Civil Rights Worth to You?". . .

Published monthly and copyright, 1940, by Equality Publishers, Inc., a non-profit body, 512 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. Single copies 15c. Subscription $1.50 a year. Canada and Foreign $2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter May 18, 1939, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A. 412

VOL. 2 APRIL, 1940 No. 4

Equality

An Independent, Non-Sectarian Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Racial and Religious Intolerance

CONTENTS

Notes and Comments 4
What Are Your Civil Liberties Worth to You? 7
Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Labor . . . the Klan Hates Them All
by Harold Coy 8
Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet
by Carl Malmberg 15
Father Coughlin's Literary Forgeries 16
Shall It Be Again?
by Harry Elmer Barnes 18
Crucifixion
Drawing by George Grosz 19
Labor and Democratic Rights 20
Cartoon
by John Groth 21
Sherman Act and Labor
by Osmond K. Fraenkel 21
Throwback to Danbury Hatters
by Henry Epstein 23
Is He American?
by Alfred J. Brenner 25
Nail the Lie: War Is a Boon to Labor 26
America's Voteless Millions
by Helen Burlin 28
We Condemn:
Col. G. Barrett Glover 30
We Applaud:
Dr. William Allan Neilson 30
Defense of the Foreign Born 31
Builders of Democracy:
Thomas Paine
by Albert Deutsch 32
Books 35

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

MICHAEL ALPER — ARTHUR KOBER
NATHAN AUSUBEL — LOUIS KRONENBERGER
FRANZ BOAS — JOHN A. LAPP
ALBERT DEUTSCH — ALBERT MALTZ
EDWARD T. DEVINE — DUDLEY NICHOLS
L. C. DUNN — DOROTHY PARKER
DASHIELL HAMMETT — LEO W. SCHWARZ
MOSS HART — GUY EMERY SHIPLER
LILLIAN HELLMAN — ROBERT K. SPEER

MAX YERGAN
Managing Editor—HAROLD COY

NOTES AND COMMENTS

American democracy finds a way

The rise of city-wide and state-wide conferences on democratic rights is one of the most encouraging developments in recent months. From coast to coast one hears of these groups, springing to life in the face of emergency in the traditional American way, and taking a stand against the anti-alien hysteria, the Dies Committee, the drive to repeal labor legislation, the use of anti-trust legislation against labor unions, proposed "sedition" legislation, and the anti-Semitic Christian Front. Conferences with wide participation by neighborhood, church, and civic groups and a continuing program of action on some or all of these points have taken place in recent weeks in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Columbus, New Haven, Seattle, Newark, Chicago, and on the West Coast. Numerous others are being called.

A history-making decision on Negro rights

The splendid Supreme Court decision handed down on Lincoln's birthday reversing the death sentences against four poor Negroes illegally convicted of murder in a Florida court—a decision reaffirmed four weeks later in the reversal of the conviction of an Alabama Negro—is a blow, welcome even if belated, against the inequality of treatment often accorded Negroes in our courts. It is also a condemnation of the common police practice of wringing fake confessions by third degree methods from friendless prisoners, white and Negro.

The conviction and death sentence of the Florida Negroes involved gross violation of their constitutional guarantees of civil rights. A white man having been murdered in Pompano, within twenty-four hours some forty Negroes living in the community were rounded up, arrested without warrants, and confined incommunicado in the jail at Fort Lauderdale. The Negroes were subjected to browbeating cross-examination, accompanied by physical attacks; third-degree methods were incessantly used until after five days and nights, confessions were finally extorted from four of the terrorized, exhausted Negroes, who were then rushed through trial and conviction. The confessions were repudiated by the men, who asserted that they had steadfastly maintained their innocence for nearly 120 hours of unremitting third-degree grilling, finally signing confessions in sheer despair. In spite of impressive evidence of the flagrant violation of their constitutional rights, the Florida Supreme Court—which only a short time ago reversed the conviction of the alleged Ku Kluxers charged with murdering Joseph A. Shoemaker because of his liberal political beliefs—upheld the death sentence of the Negroes. The Lincoln Day decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, drawn up by Justice Hugo L. Black, reversed the judgment of the Florida court. On March 11, the high court likewise reversed the conviction of Dave Canty, convicted in Montgomery on the basis of a murder confession wrung by coercion.

In his decision in the Florida cases, which takes a place beside the great American legal documents, Justice Black observed: "We are not impressed by the argument that law-enforcement methods such as those under review are necessary to uphold our laws. The Constitution proscribes such lawless means irrespective of the end. And this argument flouts the basic principle that all people must stand on an equality before the bar of justice in every American court. . . .

"No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this court than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion."

We congratulate Justice Black, a man big enough to rise nobly from a Ku Klux background, and his Supreme Court associates for this heartening affirmation of fundamental American principles.

Mobilizers heil Thorkelson, and vice versa

Big, bald, beefy Jacob Thorkelson of Montana, who somehow managed to slip into Congress when nobody was looking, is Joe Goebbels' idea of a swell guy. To the embarrassment of many *real* Representatives, Thorkelson on a number of occasions has turned the *Congressional Record* into a propaganda organ for anti-Semitic hate-inciters through flagrant abuse of the "extension of remarks" privilege. This privilege, you know, makes possible the insertion of "speeches" or "remarks" that were never uttered on the floor of Congress. Thorkelson has taken advantage of it to muddy the *Record* with anti-Semitic, pro-fascist swill that looks as if it's been lifted entire from the pages of Streicher's *Der Stuermer*.

Pelley's Silver Shirts boast that they engineered Thorkelson's election to Congress, and he has amply repaid their efforts by using

his official status to spread hate propaganda at government expense. All the little fuehrers, from Fritzie Kuhn to Father Coughlin, have been making a sort of white-haired boy of Thorkelson, and he's a sucker for their kudos. The other night, the mis-Representative from Montana addressed a wildly cheering crowd of Chris-

tian Mobilizers in New York. The Mobilizers, it may be remembered, is a split-off group of Father Coughlin's Christian Front which has recently veered to the Nazi Bund. The fuehrer of this outfit is Ku Kluxer Joseph McWilliams. The police records of leading Mobilizers show that they include as precious a pack of cut-throats, rapists, and pickpockets as ever graced a rogues' gallery.

Thorkelson promptly warmed up to this bunch, and the Mobilizer boys liked him too. He put himself in right with the boys by praising Ku Kluxer McWilliams as "a staunch patriot." Then he went into a defense of the "patriotic" Christian Front terrorists of Brooklyn, now under indictment for seditious conspiracy. The audience, waving their copies of *Social Justice* and the Nazi *Deutscher Weckruf,* roared as he presented his version of Coughlin's old saw: "I'm not anti-Semitic; I have nothing against the Arabs."

Earlier in the evening, rabble-rouser McWilliams put his obedient followers through their paces with a hammy trick that has become a stereotype in meetings of this kind. McWilliams (it might just as well be Father Curran or his indicted protege, John F. Cassidy, or what have you) asks, "Whose idea is this war?" And his dutiful audience shouts back: "The Jews, the mockies." He asks, "Whose theory?" And the audience cries again, "The Jews, the kikes!" With a satisfied smirk, McWilliams says, "You have learned your lesson well."

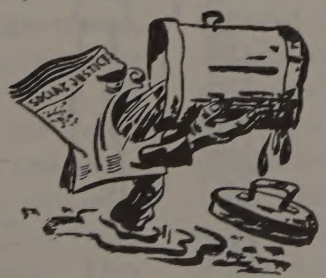
Taking his cue from the tin-horn Hitler-aper, Thorkelson in his speech blamed the Jews for every ill under the sun.

We wonder what the folks back home in Montana think of the bigoted gent who seems to be too busy conniving with Hitler-heilers and Mussolini-lovers and democracy-haters to bother about representing his constituents in Congress. We sympathize with them, and venture to predict that Thorkelson will have lots more time to ruminate among the Montana hills after the next election.

Wanted: Some abundant financing

"*Equality,* the *Nation, New Republic* and the *Catholic Worker* are eagerly read and disseminated by the same crowd. . . . The appeal for funds with which to carry on their work is window dressing to make these movements look 'popular.' As a matter of fact *they do not need funds; they are abundantly financed. . . .*" *Social Justice, February* 5, 1940.

Speaking for *Equality,* we can testify with fervor that the crack



about abundant financing is not only a lie; it belongs with the biggest of the three kinds of lies. In other words, and we know whereof we speak, it is a Coughlin lie!

No open season for witch-hunting!

THE veteran Sen. George W. Norris of Nebraska never grows too old to keep a keen weather eye focused on the state of American liberties. He has rendered such valiant service to the country that it would be foolhardy to dismiss lightly his present feeling of concern over the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its chief, J. Edgar Hoover. Norris, long a sort of one-man conscience for the United States Senate, now takes the floor to warn of reported actions by representatives of the bureau which "appear rather abhorrent to one who believes in constitutional liberty." He suggests an investigation of the investigators.

So much glamor has been thrown about the figure of Mr. Hoover by his brilliant campaign against kidnaping—an achievement he has been equally talented in turning to the uses of publicity—that Senator Norris fears that with it the F.B.I. chief has built up a personal power inconsistent with democratic institutions. Doubtless the Nebraska progressive has not forgotten Mr. Hoover's prominent part in the Palmer raids which even now, twenty years later, are recalled by Americans as a nightmare of shame. Nor did Senator Norris hesitate to hit out at the recent arrest and rough handling of the Detroit partisans of former loyalist Spain. It is true that Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson, after sensibly dismissing the charges of recruitment as discriminatory, gave his peppery and more-or-less autonomous subordinate a clean bill of health, but Mr. Jackson is under the necessity of living at peace in the big if none too happy Department of Justice family. To outsiders, the widely published picture of the Detroit youths manacled in chains which could hardly be required even for the safe-keeping of dangerous gangsters is not pleasant to recall.

Mr. Hoover has likewise not increased the trust of public-

spirited citizens in his discretion by his admitted tapping of telephone wires in "flagrant" cases, a practice illegal since 1934 and yet only at this writing officially abandoned. Even greater concern is being expressed in many quarters over Mr. Hoover's boast before the House Appropriations Committee that he is using public funds to compile a card-index of persons whose "activities are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States." The F.B.I. chief has a way with the underworld, but in view of his well-known reactionary views on public questions he is perhaps the last person to compile a prospect list for future witch-hunts. Father Coughlin is apparently not on his visiting list, though doubtless many a courageous clergyman and teacher, quick to speak up for civil rights, is. It is high time to look into any man in the public employ who sets up as a judge of the opinions of his fellow-men.

Milestones of a month

AMERICA AT ITS BEST: Benjamin and Pearl Mason, Negro couple, dedicate Philadelphia low-cost housing project built with proceeds of sweepstakes prize. . . . White girls from Stephens College cheer court fight of Miss Lucille Bluford, Negro editor, for admission to University of Missouri School of Journalism. . . . Dr. George Washington Carver, Negro scientist, donates $33,000 life savings for research in creative chemisty. . . . Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago, in name of Pope Pius XII, thanks United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs for $125,000 gift to aid Catholic refugees. . . . Joe Louis, Negro heavyweight champion, moves white tenants on his farm to better quarters; learns their ancestors used to help slaves escape via underground railway. . . . James Wong, son of Chinese parents, elected president of Lincoln High School student body at Portland, Ore. . . . Flatbush Inter-Faith Council, with thirty Brooklyn churches of many denominations cooperating, launches good will program of rallies, forums, social activities, and exchange of pulpits. . . . Negro organization wins equal salaries with white teachers in Knoxville, Tenn. . . . "We've been too busy chasing reds to be an example to the Gentiles," remarks Monsignor William T. Dillon, president of St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn. . . . National Association of Broadcasters pledges cooperation to Federal Council of Churches campaign against racism. . . . Court of Appeals at Albany rules unconstitutional New York State provision prohibiting granting of chauffeurs' licenses to non-citizens.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY: Full and free discussion in American schools and colleges, with maintenance of the right of students to organize in discussion groups, urged in resolution on student rights by American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; committee deplores attacks on appointment of Bertrand Russell to College of City of New York faculty. . . . "All tendencies to violate civil rights should be equally discountenanced at all times but especially in the present critical period," warns sub-committee of American Bar Association. . . . Dr. John Thompson, pastor of First Presbyterian Church of Norman, Oklahoma, in opening address at Student Christian Associations conference at Oklahoma City, says suppression of civil liberties for Communists would put trade unions, consumers' groups, and churches next in line. . . . *Hollywood Reporter,* semi-official voice of film industry, bitter over attacks on movies in *Liberty;* asserts "Dies phonied the whole situation." . . . Fifty West Coast clergymen, writers, educators, and public figures declare: "We believe that civil liberties have been guaranteed to all Americans without respect to race, color, creed, or political beliefs." . . . After applying red paint to group powerful enough to hit back, majority of Dies Committee retracts published charge that United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America is under "Communist leadership." . . . "In these times the air seems to be filled with matter that has no place in our country," said Judge Owen W. Bohan, a Catholic, in sentencing William Molloy to an indeterminate term of not more than three years in prison for feloniously assaulting Irving Berger. The latter's story, "I Was Stabbed by an Anti-Semite," appeared in *Equality* for June 1939. . . . Wonder grows over selection of William Godwin, prominent Coughlinite, to head Garner-for-President headquarters in New York City. . . . Federal anti-lynching bill reported out favorably by Senate Judiciary subcommittee; said to have support of sixty-five Senators and likely to pass if filibuster is prevented. Letters to Senators urging cloture and support of the anti-lynching measure are in order.

DO YOU KNOW HIM?

"I believe in civil liberties but—in times of national emergency, it's different."

What are your civil liberties worth to you?

A message to our readers

IT is a disturbing truism that most people do not cherish what they should treasure most until they are in danger of losing it. Perhaps it is that they have come by it too easily. It has, so to speak, been thrust upon them. And so they take it for granted as they do the air they breathe or the policeman around the corner.

Let us take our civil and religious liberties as an example. Although in the course of our nation's history they have been acquired through endless struggle and sacrifice, although some of our finest and most selfless spirits have voluntarily chosen persecution, obloquy, prison, even death, fighting to preserve the priceless heritage handed down to us by the Founding Fathers, most of us regard them with brutal matter-of-factness. We subscribe to them, of course, with appropriate piety but find a far too easy security in the belief that they are guaranteed to us for all time.

To you, readers of *Equality,* we say: It is preferable to see soberly and starkly than blindfoldedly to fall into a pit. We do not choose to be alarmists, pessimists, or defeatists. We have unshakeable faith in the goodness and wisdom of our American people, in their moral courage and discernment, in their readiness to take vigorous action and to right wrongs. Yet we are determined not to be Pollyannas and hence we must soberly face the fact that there are at this very time sinister and powerful forces in the United States, determined, for their own selfish reasons, to deprive the American people of those rights for which George Washington, Paul Revere, Tom Paine, John Brown, and Abraham Lincoln fought. They are just as much determined to drive our sensible and peace-loving nation to war. Their plan, using any lack of vigilance of the American people, is to whittle down, step by step, our basic civil rights: free press, free speech, free assembly, and free religious worship. Their strategy is divide and rule.

Cunningly, almost imperceptibly, they wage their campaign, finding their proper scapegoats in weak, defenseless minorities. They begin with the least popular and those most unlikely to hit back. First come foreign groups—those only partly Americanized, then Negroes, political minority groups, Jews, trade unions.

How many Americans are aware, for example, that there are pending over seventy so-called anti-alien bills in Congress, measures which call for the "control" of the foreign-born by fingerprinting, registration, deportation, denial of public assistance, and concentration camps? No thinking person can fail to see the dangerous currents into which we are drifting. We say it with the utmost sobriety and deliberation, with all humility: *Equality* is one of the very few publications in the United States ardently devoted to the preservation of civil rights, yours and ours. We may predict, with something close to sad certainty, that attacks on our liberties will increase in violence in coming months. *Equality* will be sorely needed. Whether it will then be numbered among the living will depend in part on you.

Last month, the situation crying for action, we appealed for a Fighting Fund Against Coughlinism and entered the fray—tellingly, but beyond our means as justified by the response to date. Existing as we must on a hand-to-mouth basis, we are placed in a most serious financial situation.

We wish to be very explicit: if *your* failure to support this magazine *immediately* with money should result in our suspension, you will never be able to forgive yourself for the absence, presently, of voices ready, as *Equality* is, to fight for your and our free America.

We urge you to send your contribution without delay to *Equality* at 512 Fifth Avenue, New York.

White Supremacy
MUST BE MAINTAINED

Ku Klux Klan
RIDES AGAIN

The Klan Hates Them All

BY HAROLD COY

THE Klan hates America.

America is 130,000,000 people—and the Klan hates most of them.

It hates twelve million Negroes who want the vote and equal opportunities for schooling, earning a living, and pursuing happiness.

It hates twenty-one million Catholics and burns admonitory crosses before their churches and parochial schools.

It hates four million Jews, and calls them the same kind of names as does Father Coughlin, with whom the hooded order agrees on virtually every conceivable subject under the sun except religion.

It hates fourteen million foreign-born, most of them naturalized American citizens, and tries to brew a hysteria which will turn them out of their jobs, subject them to harassing police surveillance, or even consign them to concentration camps.

It hates great masses of the twenty-seven and a half million Americans who voted for the progressive social policies of the New Deal in 1936.

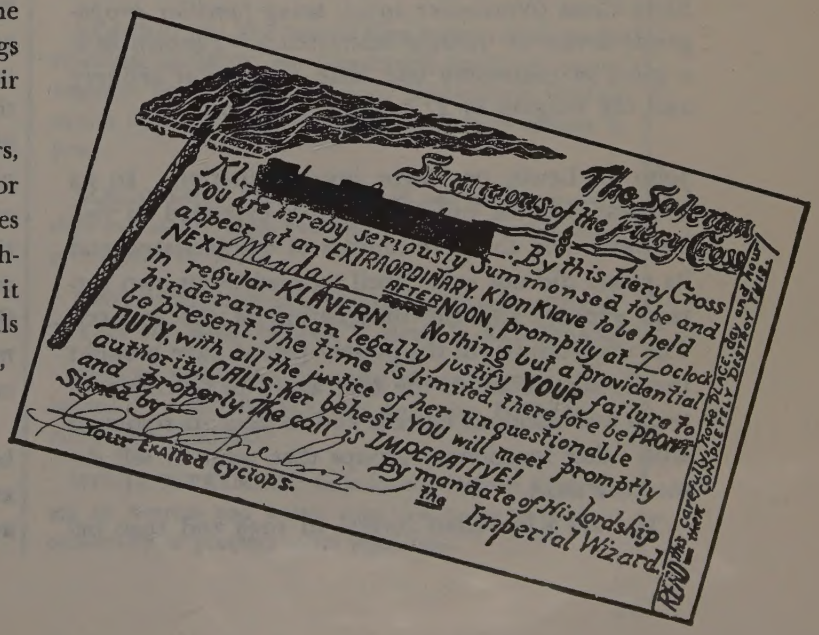
Claiming to be a Protestant order, it hates the great forward-moving surge in American Protestantism that looks to high social goals and has been a great formative influence in America's democratic traditions.

It hates the eight million organized workers in the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. so implacably that it flogs their organizers in lonely outposts and enters their established unions to spy and disrupt.

And if some of these categories overlap the others, that only gives the Klan two or three reasons for hating the same person. The Klan, of course, does not overlook the smaller minorities: in the Southwest it hates the million and a half Mexicans, and it does not forget the few hundred thousand Orientals on the West Coast. Altogether, overlapping aside, it is no exaggeration to assert that the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, hates a big majority of the American people.

The Klan not only hates the American people; it is planning pogroms against them, as will presently be shown. The American people, it would seem, are not very popular with the Klan; and the Klan, for that matter, is not so popular with America either. Under the circumstances, it may be questioned whether the night-riding boys are not too discredited an outfit to endanger American liberties. The theory that all we have here is a troublesome but minor boil on the body politic would be tenable only if one overlooked the Klan's tenacity in stirring up artificial animosities among the people as a way to divide and rule. Its secret terroristic methods can temporarily immobilize a larger unorganized opposition, and its policy (like that of the Christian Front) is to enlist police, deputies, and officeholders in its ranks. The strategy, which includes placing its services at the disposal of corrupt political machines and special interests, confers a large degree of immunity in many localities from punishment for outrages committed.

Klan organizers, working for a rakeoff on initiation fees and the sale of robes, pray for depression and war, because bigotry thrives on such cataclysmic upheavals, the unhappy aftermath of which can be blamed on the machinations of the Jews, the Pope,


The Solemn Instructions of the Fiery Cross
By this Fiery Cross
You are hereby seriously Summonsed to be and appear at an EXTRAORDINARY Klonklave to be held NEXT Monday AFTERNOON, promptly at 7 o'clock in regular KLAVERN. Nothing but a providential hinderance can legally justify YOUR failure to be present. The time is limited, therefore be PROMPT. DUTY, with all the justice of her unquestionable authority, CALLS, her behest YOU will meet promptly and properly. The call is IMPERATIVE!
By mandate of His lordship the Imperial Wizard.
Your exalted cyclops.

MORE FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

The head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Pius, an Italian living at Vatican City has sent a message to America calling upon United States officials, capital and labor to cooperate in solving labor problems.

This is another case of foreign interference in an American problem. If foreigners had kept their voices out of American affairs there would not be any split in organized labor in this country.

So long as our own citizens, believing in and supporting the Constitution of the United States, handled our industrial and labor problems we had no such trouble in this country as we have had for the last four years. If the Pope, Stalin, Hitler and French Communists had handled their own business and left America alone, there wouldn't be any sit-down strikes and lockout and such things in the United States, and men could and would sit at conference tables and work out their differences.

In his 5,000 word message the Pope didn't stop at telling American labor what to do. He undertook to tell the people of this country how to handle a great many other problems which is none of his business. He took a crack at the American Public Schools which all Popes have done.

While he was at it, the Pope took up marriage, divorce and birth control in the United States. So far as the records show, Pope Pius has never been married or divorced and knows nothing about how to solve either of these very human and personal problems.

Sample anti-Catholic propaganda from the Klan's Fiery Cross *(November 1939), using familiar propaganda device of "foreign interference." Thrown in is a gibe, in customary bad taste, at clerical celibacy and the religion of 21,000,000 Americans.*

John L. Lewis, or Negro insubordination. In its post-war rise, the Invisible Empire extended its visible sway over the governments of whole states, and its power did not wane until toppled by its own corrupt excesses and the indignation of the country. The uncertainties of the present period have brought the hooded order to the fore again to speculate in racial and religious hatreds and to pool its resources with other reactionary groups that want to sell democracy short.

The Ku Klux Klan revival in 1939 and 1940 parallels the rise of the stocky 42-year-old veterinarian, James Arnold Colescott, who took over the reins even before he formally assumed the robes of imperial wizardship last June from Hiram W. Evans. Evans, it was felt, had been wizard long enough to run the order into a rut; besides he was flirting with the idea of peace with the Catholics. Colescott, who hails from Terre Haute, Indiana, and is reputed to get $20,000 a year, deems the time ripe for a renewed drive on "Romanism" and "foreign prelates."

Since the new regime took over, crosses have blazed before many a Catholic church and the mission of Myron C. Taylor to the Vatican has been used to add fuel to the fire. Father Coughlin's Christian Front antics, of course, have been unscrupulously utilized to give immeasurable aid and comfort to Colescott in his anti-Catholic campaign.

Driving south to north

Klan organizational activity, radiating from Imperial headquarters at Atlanta, was focused on the South until recently, when invasion of the North and West began. Colescott is making whirlwind trips about the country, bobbing up for fight talks with his men in places like Philadelphia, New England, and Detroit. The foothills of southern California are blazing with crosses. Nationally a membership of two million is claimed, doubtless a gross exaggeration. But full-page advertisements for organizers are appearing in southern newspapers, and it is said that the big northern campaign is still to come.

The kleagles—the boys who do the organizing—are shrewd at sizing up a local situation and fanning to life the latent flames of any community animosities they can turn to advantage. Do property owners fear the influx of Negroes to a neighborhood? Can a resort town be made to think that the presence of Jews will ruin its reputation? Will jobless men steam up to the lie that six million foreigners have usurped their jobs? Can mill workers be told that the advent of a union signifies Communism and the destruction of the family? If so, the kleagle plays on these fears and converts them to blazing hates. If not, he takes simpler issues: the belief that this man is drinking too much, or that so-and-so is cruel to his wife, that there is too much petting of nights in parked automobiles, or that the evils of roadhouses have passed endurance.

Recruits are made to feel that in joining a masked band to flog an erring townsman, they are really on an errand designed, in the words of the *Constitution and Laws*, "to shield the sanctity of the home and the

chastity of womanhood." Then there is the alluring ritual of midnight gatherings on mountain sides or of hooded klonklaves in darkened halls where a soft crimson glow exalts the symbolism of the Bible, the Cross, the Flag, the Sword, the Water, and the Robe. This moral facade later can be turned to other purposes. In Anderson, South Carolina, a mill town, a victim recently was taken out and flogged "for not giving his wife enough money and for beating his five-year-old boy." As a matter of fact, he was not married and had no children. He was, however, suspected of being a union sympathizer.

"And these are they who have come up out of great tribulations and have washed their robes and have made them white through the blood of the Lamb," reads a slogan on a Klan leaflet issued from Jersey City, New Jersey, district headquarters. Their robes symbolizing the absence of sin, it is easy to understand why klansmen feel free to cast the first stone. It is difficult, however, to reconcile inflexible self-righteousness with the Klan's well-known predisposition to form political alliances with municipal regimes which specialize in the protection of vice and gambling, as in Tampa, Florida, scene of the 1935 Joseph Shoemaker flog-murder case.

Be that as it may, the night-riders, with their program of "White Supremacy Versus Negro Equality; Protestantism Versus Romanism; Patriotism Versus Alienism," have been sufficiently active since January 1939 so that even to chronicle their known atrocities with a few lines per episode would go beyond the compass of this article. That many outrages go unrecorded was demonstrated at Atlanta in mid-March, when a coroner's hearing into the fatal flogging of Ike Gaston, the barber who had been visited by robed men and warned to stop drinking, brought to light harrowing accounts from other victims who had been afraid to complain. And small wonder, for the law enforcement officers themselves were in many cases klansmen!

Hatred, Inc.

Yes, the Klan must be accounted a real menace, despite its widespread unpopularity. The groups most directly and immediately under attack, emphasis depending upon community, are Jews, Catholics, Negroes, the foreign-born, and labor unions. Only in closed meetings and by word of mouth do Klan leaders give full rein to their slanderous incitements; speaking for publication their spokesmen are apt to assert cautiously that "the Klan is not anti-anything, it is just pro-American." In private conversation and occasionally by lapses into print, the

Klexikon

ALIEN WORLD: You and I; the American public generally.

AMERICANISM: Hating Negroes, Catholics, Jews, liberals, labor, the foreign-born, and the "alien" (non-Klan) world generally.

COMMUNIST: Term of abuse applied variously to a labor organizer, a C.I.O. member, a Jew, a Catholic, a liberal, an anti-Klan candidate for public office.

DIGNITARIES: KLALIFF, vice-president; KLOKARD, lecturer, instructor in "secret work"; KLUDD, chaplain; KLIGRAPP, secretary; KLABEE, treasurer; KLADD, conductor; KLAROGO, inner-guard; KLEXTER, outer-guard; KLONSEL, attorney; NIGHT-HAWK, courier; KLEAGLE, organizer, field worker, percentage man; GIANT, a former chief officer, big shot emeritus; KLAVALIER, member of military branch; KLEEPER, delegate; KLOKANN, board of auditors, advisors, and "investigators." See also: INVISIBLE EMPIRE, REALM, PROVINCE, KLAN.

FIERY CROSS: Symbol of "driving away darkness"; burned for intimidatory purposes in Negro neighborhoods or near synagogues, Catholic churches, and union halls.

INVISIBLE EMPIRE: Order as a whole, headed by IMPERIAL WIZARD who meets with his GENII in IMPERIAL KONCILIUM.

JEW-COMMUNIST: Variant of COMMUNIST (*q.v.*); also used as synonym for JEW.

KLAN: Local organization with jurisdiction over a KLANTON. Meets in KLONKLAVE under presidency of an EXALTED CYCLOPS, who is assisted by twelve TERRORS. An Exalted Cyclops pays $1 more for his robe than an ordinary Klansman.

KLANISHNESS: Buying and voting Klan; you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours; economic pressure against "alien world" to force merchants, doctors, politicians, etc., to pay tribute.

KLANKRAFT: The body of Klan hokum, based on the ritualistic KLORAN, the Constitution and Laws, various Imperial Instructions, and much hate-inciting word-of-mouth instruction too violent and lawless to commit to print.

KLECTOKON: Shakedown from new members; with dues and sale of robes and insignia constitutes life blood of Imperial hierarchy.

PROVINCE: Subdivision of a realm, headed by GREAT TITAN and seven FURIES; it meets in KLONVERSE.

REALM: Subdivision consisting of one or more states, headed by GRAND DRAGON and nine HYDRAS; it meets in KLORERO.

WHITE SUPREMACY: Intimidating Negroes from voting or Negroes and whites from combining to bargain collectively or promote social legislation.

caution evaporates. A thirty-foot cross was burned outside a synagogue at Roselle, New Jersey, early in February. According to the news letter, the *Hour*, Klan leaders said that the Jews "had been too damned fresh and too damned powerful in New Jersey politics," and one remarked that if the burning "doesn't shut the Jews up, we'll cut a few throats and see what happens."

In Mattituck, New York, a ten-foot cross was burned last August 7, while signs were displayed reading: "The Jews are invading Mattituck. No Jews wanted here. K.K.K." Jumping across the continent, we find in Official Bulletin No. 10, issued by the Grand Dragon of the Realm of California, a weighty editorial on "Why Discuss the Jewish Question?" Not only does this question, we are told, "touch those matters that are of common knowledge, such as financial and commercial control, usurpation of political power, monopoly of necessities, and autocratic direction of the very news that the American people read; but it reaches into cultural regions and so touches the very heart of American life." Where have we heard these words before? Perhaps in *Social Justice*.

The decision to keep the Klan anti-Catholic was announced at a national convention at Atlanta last summer. Secrecy in the operation of anti-Catholic measures was ordered. Handbills were distributed proclaiming that "there is no room in Georgia or America for Catholics," but copies got into the wrong hands and were officially disavowed. The *Fiery Cross*, Klan monthly, tried to launch a foreign agent scare when Bishop Sheil of Chicago lunched with President Roosevelt after returning from Rome: "Here we have a direct link between the foreign head of the Roman Catholic Church and the head of the American Government." Literature published in Atlanta and distributed by the Klan in Jersey City calls for the "expulsion from America of ALL foreign propagandists representing alien potentates or *Prelates*." (Emphasis in original.) Recently Jersey City, a strongly Catholic community, has been the scene of at least five cross burnings in the vicinity of Catholic churches and schools.

Attack Constitutional rights

The Klan stands for "preventing social equality or political influence of any inferior race" and "guarding America from racial degradation and political disaster by ending legalized social and political equality through repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment." The full force of its intimidation is mobilized against southern Negroes who attempt to exercise their right to vote or to improve their economic status. Even in Detroit the opening of Klan headquarters was followed early in March by a series of organized attacks on Negro students at mixed high schools.

In Lexington County, South Carolina, is a National Youth Administration camp where a hundred Negro boys and forty Negro girls, all about 18 years of age, are receiving training in home-making and farming, as part of a program on which the federal government spends $1,500,000 a year in the state. The staff in charge includes Negro college graduates —cultured men and women accustomed to a decent standard of living. The sight of Negroes striving for a life above the level of peonage was too much for the Klan mentality. One evening last October, as the students were gathered in the recreation hall singing, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing," a noisy motorcade drove up, license plates covered. Hooded and robed figures alighted to burn a cross at the door and post warn-

Consistency no Klan jewel

Precept: ***Avenge not yourselves.***

"In a Klavern you will always find this wonderful book [the Bible] open at the twelfth chapter of Romans. This is the most practical and the most complete chapter in the whole Bible of Christian living. It is a constant reminder of the tenets of the Christian religion, and is the Klansman's law of life."—*The Grand Dragon of Indiana in the Fiery Cross, September* 1939.

"Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."—*Romans XII*, 19.

Practice: ***Mow them down.***

"There was need of the Klan in 1915. . . . Subversive forces were digging away. . . . Thousands of aliens were roaming the land unchallenged . . . the Church of Rome was tightening the drawstrings. . . . Millions upon millions strong, the Knights rode. Almost overnight they mowed down every man and every force foreign to the principles and creed of America. . . . Betrayed at home and beset abroad, America in 1939 is tottering. . . . Don't worry about America. The Klan will save America. It always has. It always will."—*The Fiery Cross, September*, 1939.

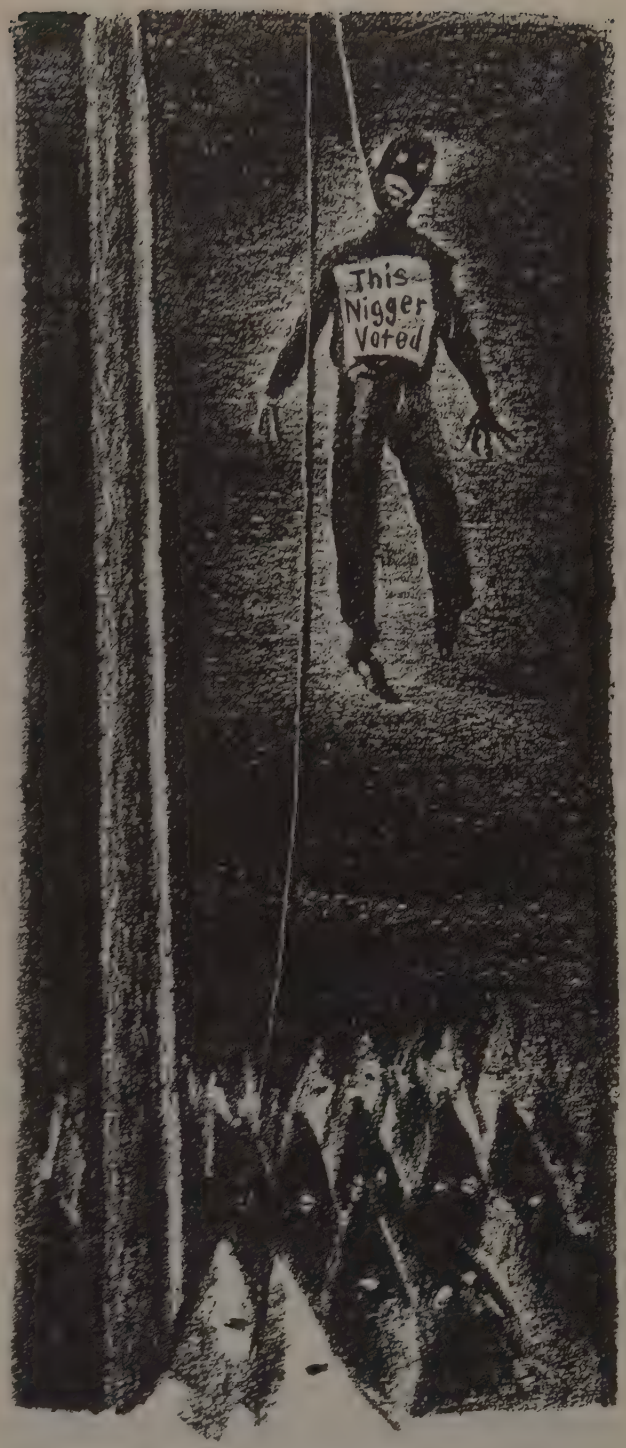
ing placards on the trees about the camp. The visit was repeated a few days later, the students being admonished: "The cotton patch is the place for you!" The strain on the young people, and even more on the staff members responsible for the lives of their charges, was terrific, and no help was forthcoming from local law enforcement officials. But the camp personnel stood its ground, and wide publicity in the press of the state drove the night-riders back into their holes. The *Columbia Record* pointed out that N.Y.A. aid in the state is divided on a population basis of 55 per cent to white and 45 to Negro students and that "this hood and night-shirt business is not only un-American, being a piece of Nazi tactics, and un-Southern, working against the South's interests, but, what is more important, it is downright silly."

The year voting began

The year 1939 will be memorable in the annals of democratic America for the determined campaigns waged by Negroes in several southern communities for the right to register and vote. It will also be remembered for the lengths to which the Klan was willing to go to withhold this constitutional right. The example of Greenville, South Carolina, a city of 35,000 population with an equal number in the suburbs and boasting of "the largest mill in the world under a single roof," is worth noting. Because Negroes could not vote, though they number 35 per cent of the population, they had no political influence. The one park set aside for them remained unimproved. An $800,000 housing grant on their behalf was refused by the Greenville Housing Authority. Negro residents, continuing to pay $15 to $20 a month for dilapidated shacks, decided that if they registered they would get more consideration. The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People launched the campaign last fall. Leaders in the drive were J. A. Brier, 69-year-old president of the branch; William Anderson, 19-year-old youth leader; and a carpenter and war veteran named Neely.

What befell three Negroes

Now each of these three men has met with a heap of trouble at the hands of the Klan since then—and under circumstances that strongly suggest frame-ups—but registration has proceeded apace, and the ice is broken. Klansmen visited the home of Mr. Brier, son of a Reconstruction legislator, to "question" him, and not finding him there, looted the place and departed with a shotgun, a pistol, a pair of socks, $9 from his bedroom, and 30 cents from a locked chest belonging to a tenant. Armed friends guarded Mr. Brier for two or three days. Then he began going about town as usual, but with a pistol. He was picked up and fined "for carrying concealed weapons." Young Anderson, president of his class at high school, was so zealous in getting out the regis-



A voting Negro is hanged in effigy in Miami, Florida. From a photograph of a Klan demonstration on election eve, May 1939. Despite intimidation, hundreds of Negroes voted next day.

tration that he was taken out and "questioned" by the Klan and thereafter arrested three times on flimsy charges, serving one jail sentence. To "get" Mr. Neely, third of the Negro leaders, the Klansmen seized and disrobed him, compelling him to walk naked to the front door of a white attorney's home at a time when they knew the latter's wife was there alone. They expected her to scream, but she had sufficient presence of mind to sense the situation, get the Negro a pair of her husband's trousers and an overcoat, and summon a taxi to send him home. The klansmen eventually drove him out of town, but not before he defied them by parading on Armistice Day, dressed in a soldier's uniform and marching between two American flags.

Dies not interested

The N.A.A.C.P. has requested the Dies Committee at least five times to investigate the un-American activities of the Ku Klux Klan, but without success.

In its organizing work in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, the Textile Workers Union of America has encountered the opposition of armed and masked men on numerous occasions. Some of its representatives have been subjected to threats, others "taken out" and flogged or beaten with a rubber hose. Parts of Fulton County, Georgia, have been notorious for anti-union violence, and when a delegation called on the Mayor of East Point to complain, he pulled out his Klan card and showed it to them.

Intimidation failing to halt organization, Klan strategy has turned more to boring from within union locals for the purpose of disruption. Ben Adams, publisher of the *Columbia Free Press* and reputed Klan leader in South Carolina, has supervised the formation of several company unions. When his mouthpiece, Fred V. Johnson of Greenville, who bears the title of Grand Klokard of the Realm of South Carolina, was arrested following the flogging of a young white mechanic, records in his possession showed that the Klan was preparing to establish an espionage service for industrialists to report on union activities. The January issue of the *Fiery Cross,* following a visit by Colescott to the Ohio-Michigan industrial district, reports that "the Klan has completely taken over one C.I.O. local and is recruiting membership in many others with a view to ousting aliens and foreign agitators and placing the leadership in the hands of Americans." Information collected is "to be turned over to the proper authority and some already has been handed to the Dies Committee."

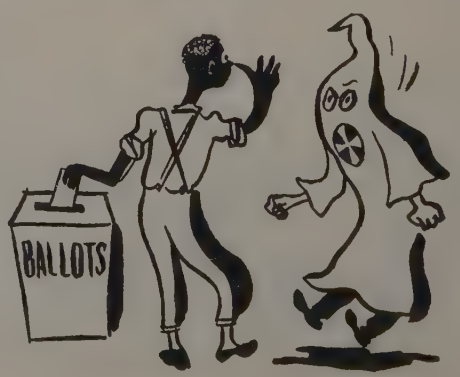
These are some of the deeds of the Klan in its boasted role as "the unifying cement of Americanism and Protestantism." We may be privileged to question how American (or how Protestant) is an organization whose activities run counter to the whole American tradition of democracy, equality, and civil rights. It seems rather like a dangerous conspiratorial society when letters like that from Grand Dragon Snelson of California to his subordinates leak out: "A poll is to be taken of all members belonging to rifle and trap shooting teams, National Guard units, R.O.T.C. and those willing to form shooting clubs. Please forward list to State Headquarters, using numbers instead of names." (*News Research Service,* June 7, 1939.) Or when Exalted Cyclops press their members for "maps of all the territories included in your klanton" and take polls of vehicles available for transportation.

Pals with Bundists

It is no accident, moreover, that the German-American Bund has long shown an interest in the Klan as a "nativist" movement of essentially identical aims, that the Los Angeles Klan has held secret confabs in the Brown House of that city, and that Joe McWilliams, national commander of the Christian Mobilizers, is welcomed into the high councils of the Klan while he keeps one foot in the Bund. And then there is Edward James Smythe, commander of the so-called Protestant War Veterans, who gets bundles of propaganda from Berlin and speaks at Klan meetings.

The Klan succeeds insofar as it is able to turn American against American and to strike in the dark. It advances by instilling fear and withdraws when met by resolute organized opposition. He who would fight the Klan must not give way an inch. There is no better way to illustrate this than by the election events in Miami, Florida, last May. A group of Negroes met at Mount Calvary Baptist

(Continued on page 34)



Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet

BY CARL MALMBERG

Film tells story of Jew's discovery of salvarsan, a blessing to all peoples - - - unlike real bullets

IT IS only a few years ago that the New York State Board of Censors ruled that the subject of venereal disease was "not a decent theme for a motion picture." Since then, thanks in a great measure to the courageous efforts of Surgeon-General Parran and the insistent appeal to reason by writers such as Paul de Kruif, the fight against venereal disease has been brought into the open where it belongs. One of the results of this victory over the hush-hush boys and girls is the motion picture recently released by Warner Brothers, *Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet*, which depicts the story of the famous Jewish physician who, with the aid of a Japanese assistant, discovered "606" or salvarsan, the cure for syphilis that has benefited millions of all races.

Magnificently acted by Edward G. Robinson and an excellent supporting cast, this addition to the happily growing list of significant films embodies in eloquent terms the struggle of the scientist and humanitarian against the forces of ignorance, prejudice, and greed that prevent the discoveries of science from being utilized for the benefit of suffering mankind.

Ehrlich was seriously handicapped by lack of funds to carry on his work and by the opposition of the stuffed shirts among his colleagues. Added to this was the fact that he was a Jew, a circumstance which is touched upon only lightly in the picture in spite of the fact that it played an important part in the opposition to him and his work. If he managed to overcome these handicaps, it was only because of his special genius and the fact that he was fortunate enough to find private backing for his research. Today many of his profession are faced with the same obstacles. Application of their beneficial science can no longer be financed by private contributions, and the stuffed shirts in medicine shriek in protest when it is suggested that the government step in and lend a hand. Nor does the government itself show any great inclination to help. For a time there was a ray of hope in the form of the National Health Program, announced with fanfare by the administration almost two years ago and embodied in the Wagner Health Bill. But now the administration is spending so heavily for armaments that it seems health will have to wait. Symptomatic of this general retreat on the health front is the recent withdrawal of federal funds from the Bureau of Social Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health, an agency that has been doing splendid work in curbing the disease that Ehrlich taught us how to cure. We can't afford to buy magic bullets of the kind Ehrlich discovered when we have to stock up on bullets of the more destructive sort. Not even when these magic bullets would cost us far less than the diseases which they are capable of eradicating!

And so it is not strange that twenty-five years after Ehrlich's death there are still about six million cases of syphilis in America, only a small percentage of which receive treatment. Would Ehrlich be surprised at this state of affairs? Perhaps not, for, as he says in the closing lines of the picture, "Before you can cure the diseases of the body, you must cure the diseases of the soul—greed, ignorance, prejudice, and intolerance." He knew this most important truth of all.

Paul Ehrlich was above all a research worker, and the motion picture about him is concerned primarily with his activities in the laboratory and lecture room. Important characters in the narrative are the germs which wriggle on the slides of Ehrlich's microscope. While the picture contains little "action" in the conventional sense, and while the killers are gangsters of the microbe world rather than the usual cinema breed, the result is an intensely dramatic and moving story. It is to be hoped that in the future Warner Brothers will continue to let Edward G. Robinson handle test tubes rather than tommy-guns; there is a wealth of material in medical history suited to his fine talent.

Father Coughlin's Literary Forgeries

Words of Pope Pius XI falsified and Civil War called Jewish plot!

FOLLOWING the Civil War, the anti-Catholic A.P.A.'s circulated an infamous forgery in the form of a letter of Abraham Lincoln predicting that the Catholic Church was the implacable enemy of the United States Government, and that ultimately the two would engage in a life-and-death war. That forgery is still making the rounds of anti-Catholic circles, and so are other forgeries "proving" that Lincoln was assassinated by Catholics at the instigation of Pope Pius IX. *Equality* on several occasions has exposed and condemned these forgeries.

An apt student and imitator of Know-Nothing and A.P.A. tactics, with a record for purveying forgeries and deliberate lies that would make the old-timers turn green with envy, Father Coughlin now takes another dive into the anti-Semitic sewer and comes up with a brand-new Lincoln forgery, or rather set of forgeries. His yellow journal, *Social Justice,* on February 12 featured a story charging that both the Civil War and Lincoln's assassination were the result of a "Jewish plot." A fantastic tale, with the most tortuous ramifications, is spun out to "prove" that it wasn't the slave system, or the doctrine of states' rights that brought on the Civil War, but a plot of the House of Rothschild and Judah P. Benjamin, the American Jew who served as Secretary of State in Jefferson Davis' Confederate cabinet.

We shall resist the temptation to take up seriatim all the falsehoods on which the slanderous article in *Social Justice* is based. Let us confine ourselves to the prize piece of "evidence" brought forward by its author. The article makes an alleged quotation from page 228 of a book entitled *The Rochschilds, The Financial Rulers of Nations,* by John Reeves, published in 1887, as follows: "Disraeli is reported to have said: 'Under this roof are the heads of the family of Rothschild—a name famous in every capital of Europe and every division of the globe. If you like we shall divide the United States into two parts, one for you, James, and one for you, Lionel.' " The reader curious enough to check up this statement in the book from which *Social Justice* "quotes" will look in vain on page 228 or any other page for the amazing "quotation" about Disraeli's offer to divide the U.S. between James and Lionel Rothschild. What he *will* find on page 228 is this passage: "Under this roof are the heads of the name and family of Rothschild—a name famous in every capital in Europe and every division of the globe—a family not more regarded for its riches than esteemed for its honor, its virtues, integrity and public spirit."

In an interesting radio address of February 27, the Rev. Walton E. Cole of the First Unitarian Church of Toledo traced the lies in the *Social Justice* article to their real source—a rabid anti-Semitic French periodical, *La Vielle France* of March 1921. Father Coughlin's yellow paper would not think of going to authoritative American historical sources concerning the Civil War; it digs deep into the literary garbage cans for "sources" like the Jew-baiting sheet, *La Vielle France,* or the propaganda releases of little Joe Goebbels. The shameful historical distortion has been traced to Issue No. 216 of *La Vielle France.* In his analysis of the article, Dr. Cole gave several significant quotations from No. 215 of the French smear-sheet, to show its general reliability. Omitting passages of "incredibly vile slander" against Woodrow Wilson, he quotes: "Pecksniff Wilson, the hypocrite . . . the agent of the Jewish German financiers . . . he is the sinister character who for three years prevented the United States from entering the war. . . ." The American people are referred to in this issue of *La Vielle France* as "the incurable, imbecile Americans." There was one thing in America it liked and respected, however—the Ku Klux Klan. "The American Ku Klux Klan," it stated in Issue No. 215, *"which we have recommended as worthy to be imitated in France* has now been launched in Southern Bavaria under the name of the 'Eiserne Faust' (Iron Fist)."

This is the kind of garbage that Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* feeds on, and regurgitates for its readers.

This is the way that *Social Justice* chose to com-

memorate the birthday of Lincoln, to mock the memory of the great man who said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." This is the Coughlin way.

Father Coughlin, despite his use of the Rothschild forgery and of the long-discredited *Protocols of Zion,* is not dependent on secondary sources for his literary forgeries, but has creative talent in his own right. In the course of a broadcast last November 12, during the Chrysler automobile strike, he did not scruple to misquote the very words of the late Pope Pius XI to make it appear that Catholic doctrine conceded to the government alone the right to represent the company and the men and to conclude an agreement.

Misrepresentation of the late Pontiff's words, coming at a crucial moment during the strike and carrying the implication that the men should return to work and depend on the government to settle their grievances, put such a fascist construction on Catholic social doctrine that the *Michigan Catholic,* official organ of the diocese, hastened to repudiate "Father Coughlin's Errors" in its November 16 issue. The publication cited "three distinct classes of inaccuracies" in the Coughlin discourse: "errors of fact concerning the issues of the dispute . . . interpolations and quotations out of context of the words of the late Pope Pius XI . . . errors of interpretation concerning the function of the Wagner Labor Act, the National Labor Relations Board and the Department of Labor in the settlement of industrial disputes."

It is interesting to trace the Coughlin fingerprints where the radio priest tampered with the language of the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* to make it fit the conception of the corporate state he wants for America. The falsified quotation, as uttered by Coughlin and taken down by a certified court reporter, reads:

> The State here grants legal recognition to the syndicate or union, and thereby confers on it some of the features for a monopoly, for in virtue of their recognition [the State] alone can represent respectively working men and employers, and [the State] alone can conclude labor contracts and labor agreements.

Now in the official English translation the word [it] appears in those brackets, not [the State]. And "it" refers to the syndicate or union, not to the State, as is corroborated by reference to the genders used in the original Latin text. In the press release issued by Father Coughlin, the word [it] appears, but is crossed out and [the State] inserted in pencil.

"This interpolation," to quote the *Michigan Catholic,* "distorts and changes the meaning of the Pope's words. Consequently whenever Father Coughlin quotes Pope Pius XI as saying, 'The State alone can represent respectively working men and employers,' or 'The State alone can conclude labor contracts and labor agreements,' it must be remembered that the Holy Father made no such assertions."

Later in the same talk, Father Coughlin quoted the Pope correctly but out of context as follows: "The State alone can conclude labor contracts and labor agreements. . . ." The trick here is that the Pope was describing an existing situation under Italian Fascism, not laying down a doctrine, whereas Coughlin made it appear that this feature of the corporate state applied, or should apply, to America as well.

The seriousness of his act can be fully comprehended only by a realization of the paramount importance of the encyclicals as the basic law of the Catholic world in social and economic matters. A well-informed Catholic layman in Detroit, who has investigated the affair carefully, writes us: "The unity of truth in the various encyclicals cannot be overstressed. No matter who interprets the encyclicals, no matter how faithful and how long has been such service, when the encyclicals are abused or misused, such persons must be corrected publicly and reprimanded when such correction and reprimand is in order. Father Coughlin made what could constitute an egregious blunder which would have possibly wrecked the social program of the Church in America had not the official diocesan paper come out immediately with a front page editorial indicating the errors."

Calendar

Third National Negro Congress, United States Department of Labor Auditorium, Washington, D. C., April 26, 27, 28. Information from National Negro Congress, 717 Florida Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

First Annual Student Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., March 29, 30, 31. Theme: "Resources for Democracy in Youth."

Interfaith Youth Conference for Democracy, Herman Ridder Junior High School, 173rd St. and Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y., April 11, evening. Auspices: Federated Council for Americanism.

Nation-wide Student Peace Demonstration, United Student Peace Committee, April 19.

Shall It Be Again?

BY HARRY ELMER BARNES

The story of Colonel House: Lest we forget April 6, 1917

THOSE familiar with American diplomacy during the first World War will be interested, if not alarmed, that the Undersecretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, has been visiting Europe as President Roosevelt's personal representative in behalf of securing an early peace.

They will remember the other famous visit by a President's representative for this very purpose. They will recall how it played the decisive role in prolonging the European war for two years and bringing us into it. We refer to the famous mission on which Col. Edward M. House left the United States on December 28, 1915, some months before Mr. Wilson selected the slogan, "He kept us out of war," for his campaign of 1916.

Before Colonel House left the United States, he and President Wilson had already agreed to double-cross Germany. House was to visit Great Britain first. Then he was to visit Germany and deceive the Germans relative to the Allied attitude, for the purpose of frightening the Germans into accepting the American terms, in case they might otherwise hesitate to do so.

When House reached England he did not get too warm a reception for his views. Sir Edward Grey was not interested in discussing the American demand for freedom of the seas unless Germany was crushed on land and the United States would join a League of Nations to preserve peace.

House cabled Wilson and the latter responded that the United States would be glad to join in a covenant to keep the peace of the world. This called the British bluff, and Arthur Balfour would only tell House that he would see "what concessions his colleagues would be willing to make to American opinion." Even prospective American aid was therefore not enough to bribe the British to concede the freedom of the seas.

In spite of this rebuff to his adamant faith in British idealism, Colonel House was not discouraged, not even depressed. A conference was arranged by Ambassador Walter Hines Page, at which the colonel met the English political leaders. To start things off, Ambassador Page, acting as interlocutor, asked Colonel House to tell all the nice men around him just what he wanted Great Britain to do. As Professor Charles C. Tansill observes, the colonel's response "was exactly what one might expect from a loyal servant of the Crown." It was here that House uttered the famous and fateful sentence: "The United States would like Great Britain to do those things which would enable the United States to help Great Britain win the war."

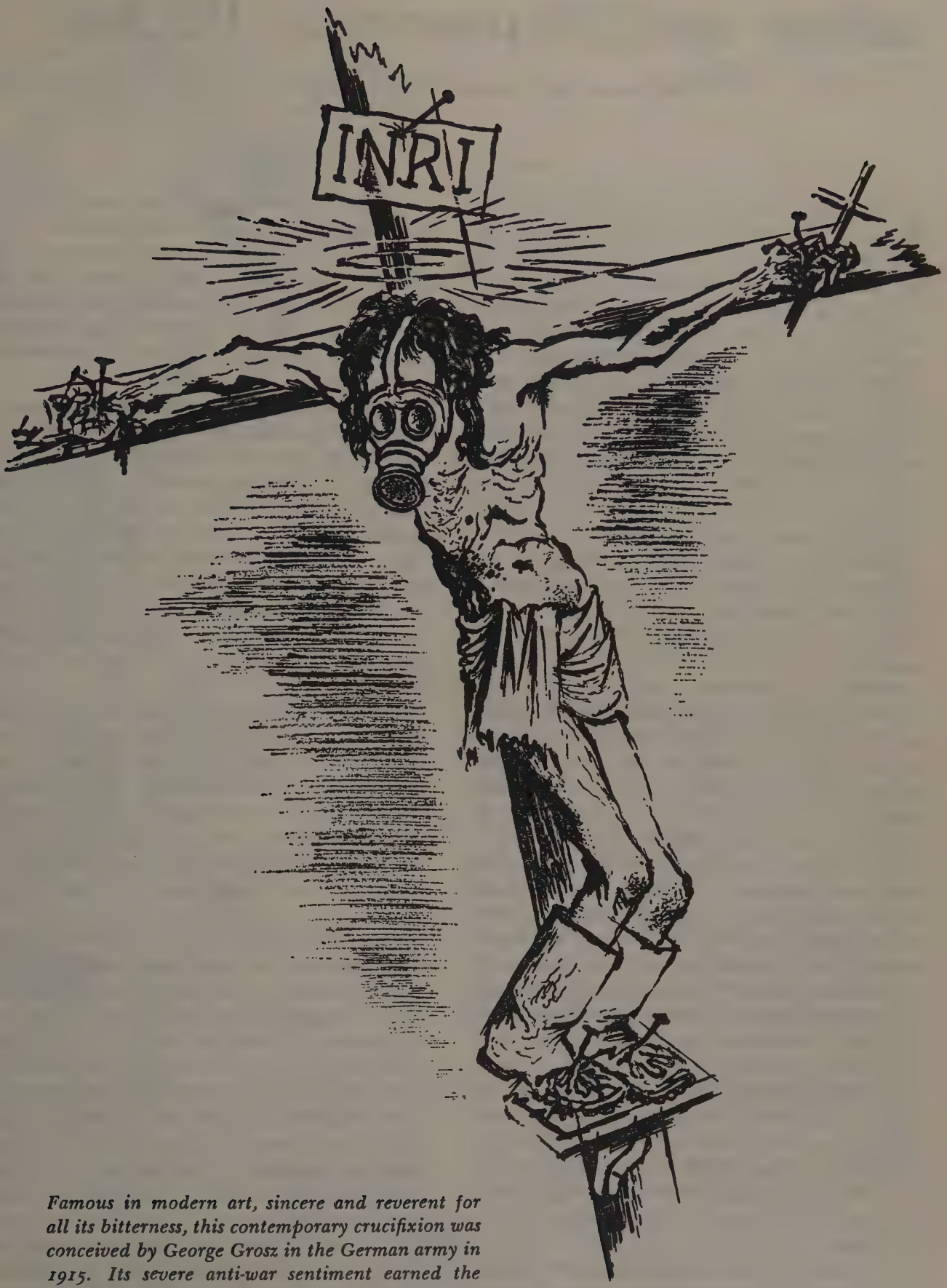
Incidentally, this sentence would serve perfectly today as the Golden Text of our warmongers in the United States. This is exactly their philosophy. And, if one can believe his eyes and ears, it also perfectly describes the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration since October 1937.

After having thus lined up himself and the President on the Allied side and identified himself and the President as "the United States," the colonel journeyed to Berlin, where he showed that he was an adept in practicing St. Paul's notion of "being all things to all men." On January 27, 1916, House warmed up to Dr. Wilhelm Heinrich Solf, German Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of the British leaders and policies. As Professor Tansill puts it:

> It would seem evident that the colonel was more communicative than usual. He informed Dr. Solf that Sir Edward Grey was anxious for peace but was handicapped by the opposition of other British leaders who were less pacific.
>
> Colonel House then waxed critical of English leaders, who were less pacific. The King was "a nobody," and there was not a statesman of outstanding capacity in the whole British Cabinet.
>
> Although he had been advised of the unfriendly feeling in Germany towards America, he was now aware of the fact that in England this anti-American feeling was "even stronger" than it was in Germany.

But the colonel did not get any more satisfaction out of Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg than he had out of the British Cabinet. The English were not even willing to accept the American peace

(Continued on page 27)



Famous in modern art, sincere and reverent for all its bitterness, this contemporary crucifixion was conceived by George Grosz in the German army in 1915. Its severe anti-war sentiment earned the artist condemnation to the firing squad. Intervention by Catholics and Quakers saved his life.

Labor and Democratic Rights

The threat in renewed use of the Sherman Act against Labor

IN RECENT years events in various countries have demonstrated that where reaction crushes the democratic rights of any section of the people, the rights of labor are also smashed. A pogrom against Jews, for instance, is always accompanied by a simultaneous or subsequent pogrom against books, against labor, against other religious and political minorities. *This fact is true in reverse!* Reaction attacks wherever it finds the opportunity. Therefore the maintenance of the rights of labor is crucially important not only to members of trade unions but to the whole people. For a religious minority to keep silence, for instance, while a labor movement is under attack, is to invite its own destruction.

It is for these reasons that *Equality* calls to the attention of its readers the current prosecution of labor unions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It is, we believe, a matter of concern to all Americans.

We are confronted with a blunt fact and we must face it: namely, that the present administration, which until recently has been the most friendly of all administrations toward the rights and problems of labor, has now begun to prosecute trade unions under a piece of legislation that recalls to labor the bitterest of memories. Organized labor, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike, is up in arms about it, maintaining that *the very existence* of the trade union movement is being challenged. We are well aware that Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold has been at pains to justify his policy to the public (and doubtless to himself) through publication of a letter setting forth circumstances under which prosecutions would take place. But against present protestations stand the following alarming facts:

1. This question has had a long history, and the Clayton Act of 1914, intended expressly to exempt labor unions from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, was hailed as labor's Magna Charta.

2. No administration since 1914—Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover—has acted against labor in this manner.

3. Even if Mr. Arnold's discretion in the application of the act could be trusted implicitly, his prosecutions would afford a welcome precedent to any unfriendly administration of the future desirous of proceeding full steam against trade unions.

4. There is a big slip between legal phrases and practical application. The Sherman Act was originally intended for trust-busting, not for action against unions (as the record of Congressional debates makes clear). *Yet in practice it has been used against labor.*

5. Recently a group of General Motors executives were convicted of activities in restraint of trade and fined $3,000 each—nothing to men of such position. Whereas in the Danbury Hatters' case a labor union was assessed triple damages amounting to over two hundred thousand dollars, the union and its individual members were ruined, and union members even had to sell their homes to meet the damages.

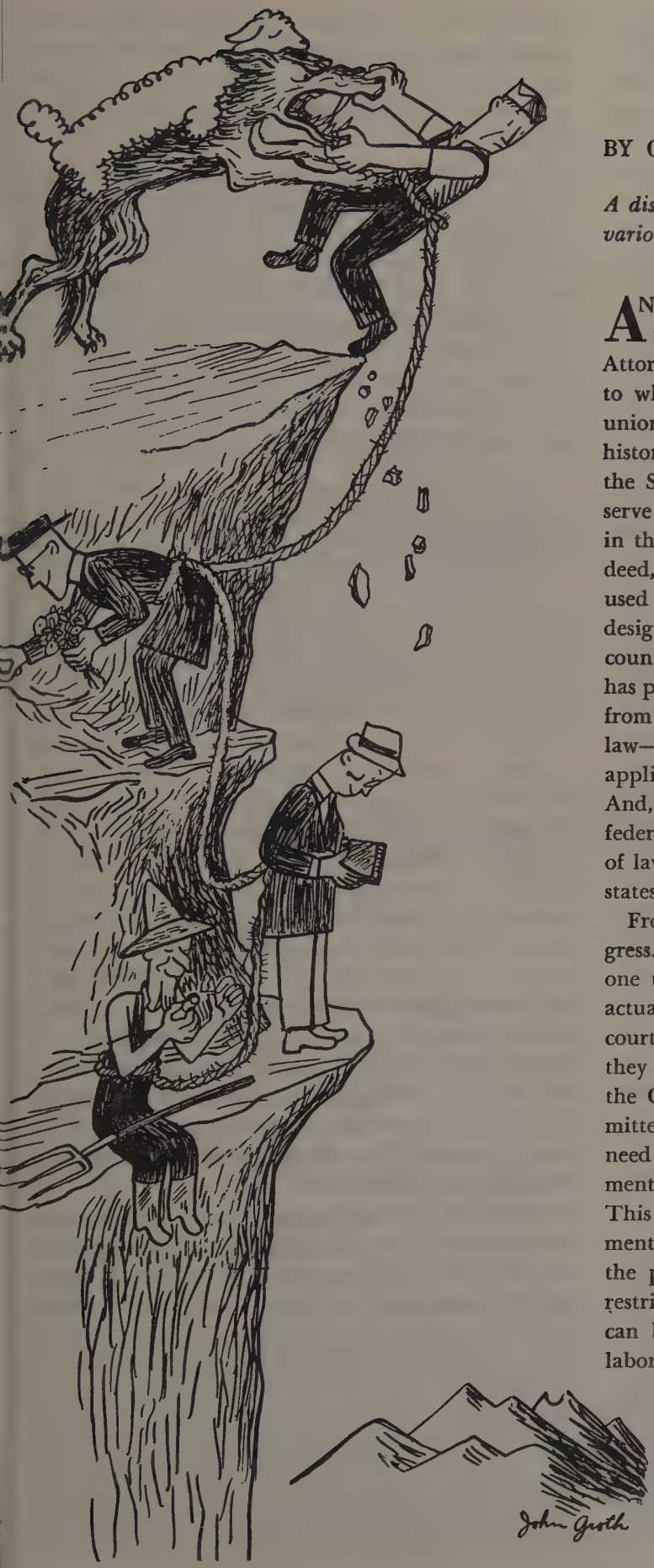
6. While labor unions have been thus smashed and penalized under the act, no employer has ever been sent to prison for a violation of the Sherman Act.

In view of these facts, it is difficult to accept Mr. Arnold's protestations that labor can consider itself secure in the face of his activities. Labor has heard such protestations before. Labor and its friends do not maintain that labor should be exempt from the laws of this country, but if it is law-breaking Mr. Arnold is after, then surely there are enough laws on our statute books to apprehend criminals or racketeers.

We call the attention of our readers to the articles of Mr. Fraenkel, the noted lawyer, and Mr. Epstein, Solicitor-General of New York State, in this issue. We have sought balanced and temperate opinions in this matter and, while we are inclined to be more suspicious than Mr. Fraenkel, for instance, and to be less willing to grant Mr. Arnold prerogatives than he, we welcome his opinion the more for that reason.

One thing is clear: if the rights of labor are emasculated or abolished by this procedure, it will make no difference that it has been accomplished by legal steps rather than by direct fascist attack. The democratic rights of everyone will not be worth the paper the Bill of Rights is written on if that can happen.

We must be on our guard. This is a profoundly serious matter.



The Sherman Act and Labor

BY OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

A discussion of the legal background and of various present-day considerations

AN UNDERSTANDING of the recent letter in which Thurman Arnold, Assistant United States Attorney-General, expresses his views on the extent to which the government plans to prosecute labor unions under the anti-trust laws necessitates some historical discussion. Fifty years ago Congress passed the Sherman Act in the expectation that it would serve to curb monopoly. How little it accomplished in that direction has become a commonplace. Indeed, for many years the law was most effectively used in a field for which it had not been originally designed, the field of labor relations. For, on account of its general language, the Supreme Court has persistently refused to rule that labor was exempt from its provisions. The threefold penalities of the law—criminal, injunctive, and monetary—have been applied against a great variety of labor activities. And, the evil was for a time aggravated because federal courts often applied to these activities rules of law less favorable to labor than did the courts of states in which the activities had taken place.

From year to year unions sought relief from Congress. The passage of the Clayton Act in 1914 was at one time heralded as a new charter of rights. Yet actually it benefited labor very little, since the courts ruled it was not intended to change the rules they had earlier laid down. In one respect, indeed, the Clayton Act proved a boomerang. For it permitted employers to sue for injunctions; they did not need any longer to depend on action by the government. And they were quick to use their advantage. This situation was changed in 1932, with the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which regulates the procedure for the issuance of injunctions and restricts somewhat the extent to which injunctions can be granted. Yet this law in no way restricts labor's liability under the Sherman Act to criminal prosecutions for conspiracy or to actions in which triple damages may be obtained.

Repeatedly organized labor has pressed upon the Supreme Court its view that it is in no way subject to these penalties. And, falling short of success, it has endeavored to limit the applica-

bility of the anti-trust law. That attempt has followed two paths. Labor has fought every effort to invoke the federal law in punishment for acts really local in scope; and it has resisted efforts to brand as illegal activities wholly peaceful in character. In the latter respect the Supreme Court, in the pre-Roosevelt era, blocked all progress. Over the dissent of Justices Holmes and Brandeis, the court branded as illegal peaceful boycotts used by the unions in fighting employer antagonism. Yet, it is probable that as now constituted the court would reach a different result. And, in his recent explanation of the present stand of the Department of Justice, Thurman Arnold stated that no prosecutions would ensue for acts held legal by any dissenting justices.

Mr. Arnold agrees* with the spokesmen for organized labor in their condemnation of attempts to use the federal law for punishing local wrongs. Thus he accepts as correct the recent decisions of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in the *Apex* case. There can be little doubt that this decision reflects the views expressed over a long period of years by the Supreme Court in cases affecting business as well as labor. Congress, in the anti-trust laws, has prohibited only such agreements or activities as are in restraint of interstate commerce. Therefore, an agreement or objectionable practice which has no substantial effect on such commerce is not covered—not, as some people have believed, for lack of power on the part of Congress to cover such lesser activities, but because the purpose Congress sought to accomplish in the anti-trust laws did not call for regulation so extensive. On the other hand, when Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act, it did cover the whole field. And the reason for the difference is clear. A local strike—at least, one in an industry which does not dominate the inter-state market—can have no real influence on any question of monopoly prices. On the other hand, labor disturbances in any part of an industry which spreads over state boundaries may readily become infectious. Hence the difference in the attitude of Congress.

There is one other restriction upon the applicability of the Sherman Act which has importance. In cases involving large aggregations of capital, such as the Steel and United Shoe Machinery cases, the Supreme Court ruled that practices which seriously curtailed competition were legal on the ground that they were reasonable. Courts have not always applied a like principle in considering activities of labor unions. Perhaps, it is the bias of certain judges which has rendered them readier to declare certain practices reasonable if engaged in by capitalists. Here also Mr. Arnold takes a stand which is impartial.

There can be no legitimate quarrel with the Assistant Attorney-General's position that where labor and capital conspire to create monopolies they are both liable under the law. It is difficult to see on what basis union leaders are entitled to exemption from prosecution for participating in criminal activities with leaders of industry. The Department of Justice's good faith will be tested by the extent to which it prosecutes all parties to such conspiracies and secures convictions against business men as well as union organizers.

The problem becomes more difficult when a prosecution is directed against labor alone. In so far as challenged activities may be motivated by personal gain to officers of unions, rather than by the improvement of the condition of members, such officers but not the union should be prosecuted as racketeers.* Mr. Arnold suggests, however, that labor will also be prosecuted when its demands are unreasonable, as when unions object to labor-saving devices or when strikes are called to compel hiring of unnecessary employees. Here, I believe, Mr. Arnold is on very dangerous ground. Not all unreasonable demands by labor organizers, even in industries predominantly interstate, tend to reduce competition. Union leaders, for instance, frequently demand increases in wages stubbornly resisted by employers. Can it be supposed that they thereby subject themselves to prosecution under the Sherman Act, because some court (perhaps by a majority of one in nine) decides that, had the demand been granted, the result might have been an improper increase in the price to the public? And the same is true of *demands* either for more employees or against the use of new machines.

It must also be kept in mind that there is a world of difference between demands made on an employer —or even on a group of employers—and conspiracies between employees and employers. Demands are usually set high, in the expectation that they will be scaled down in negotiations. Moreover, when employers and unions have agreed on improper practices they have usually done so in order to force the public to pay higher prices. Such agreements gen-

* The letter under discussion ignores this question, but Mr. Arnold has elsewhere made his position clear.

* Although it is not clear why the anti-trust laws need be resorted to for that purpose; there are other available laws, both state and federal.

erally include provisions forbidding variation in price by any of the employer units. No such result need follow from union demands.

Mr. Arnold fails also to consider whether the effect on interstate commerce of the threatened or actual interruption of work need be substantial. This constitutes a somewhat different question from the one involved in the *Apex* case, which really rested upon the proposition that there was no intention to interfere with interstate commerce at all. Even in a case in which such intention might be inferred, no basis exists for applying the Sherman Act, unless the interference has an important influence on the entire industry. Only a restraint of trade such as this can be properly called an unreasonable one.

It seems to me, therefore, that so long as unions seek to improve the condition of their members by demands as to wages, hours, or conditions of employment or even as to security against technological unemployment, they are pursuing those "legitimate" activities expressly protected by the Clayton Act. Only when, departing from these activities, they join with employers in improper efforts at domination of an industry should they be subject to the penalties of the anti-trust laws.

There remains for further consideration Mr. Arnold's suggestion that unions might be prosecuted for engaging in jurisdictional disputes. This is a contention for which there seems to be no support at all. However much inconvenience the public may suffer in any such situation, it is difficult to understand what those considerations have to do with the anti-trust laws. If special remedies are needed, Congress should specifically consider the newly-developed situation and pass such laws as may be appropriate. It is preposterous to hold that competition is restrained because two unions are involved when this would not be so if there were one union alone in the picture.

To sum up: Prosecution is justifiable where unions have conspired with business against the public interest; in such cases both groups should be proceeded against with equal vigor. Prosecutions of union leaders alone may be justifiable where these have used their positions for purposes of extortion. Prosecutions of unions should not be undertaken merely because of "unreasonable" demands or jurisdictional disputes.

Throwback to Danbury Hatters

BY HENRY EPSTEIN

The Solicitor-General of New York State deplores use of the Sherman Act in labor cases

IN NO case should it be found necessary so to distort the purpose of the anti-trust laws as to bring their weapons to bear upon labor in quest of its proper goal. It was not unreasonable that 50 per cent of the steel industry of the United States was concentrated in the U. S. Steel Corporation; it was not unreasonable that practically all the shoe machinery manufacture of the country, with resulting control of the entire shoe industry, was in one corporation; it was not unreasonable in order to stabilize prices and avoid chaotic conditions to allow combinations in the coal industry, nor in the Sugar Institute case. Where, then, does one find the "unreasonable restraint" in labor's use of its "hard-won extra-judicial remedies of strike, boycott, and picketing"? If the lash of invalidity must fall, let it fall, as intended by Congress, on the backs of those against whom aimed, and whose backs are broad enough to bear it, not upon the harassed neck of the trade union movement, before it has achieved full recognition by society.

One must read and re-read Mr. Arnold's letter several times before its terrific impact on the development of a bill of rights for American trade unions can be fully appreciated. Sugar-coat it how you may, it remains a vicious throwback to the Danbury Hatters' and Duplex Printing Co. cases. The calamity of the collection of the judgement in the Danbury Hatters' case by sale on execution of workingmen's homes found answer in the promise of no possible recurrence. Analysis of some of Mr. Arnold's "restraints" may well cause doubt as to the fulfillment of that promise. We may disregard his specific examples because others may choose other examples and apply his principles.

Under the specific pronouncement of the Department of Justice, unions are to be prosecuted:

1. *For concerted efforts to prevent use of cheaper materials or more efficient methods.* Where is the borderline of exploitation, or speed-up methods? Is this within the omniscience of an administrative offi-

cial? Will prosecutor now supplant the courts and become a new legislative authority? Having had judicial legislation, are we now to have administrative legislation?

2. *For compelling the hiring of useless or unnecessary labor.* Who invests the prosecutor with such capacity to determine one of the most vital factors in the economic war engendered by technology? Suppose the employees of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. had been well organized in the period of 1929-1935, when about 185,000 workers were dismissed by that great monopoly. In those years, despite a 5,000,000 increase in shares; despite maintenance of the famous $9 dividends, of $52,000,000 increased dividend payments, 185,000 workers were discharged. Efficiency, mechanical improvements, etc., all contributed. By Mr. Arnold's test a strike to compel the retention of some of those "unnecessary" or "useless" workers, even at the expense of shorter hours for all, or at the expense of less dividends, would constitute or *might* constitute a violation of law.

3. *For being parties to and enforcing graft and extortion.* It is a sad day when prosecution cannot stop this by means of criminal and penal statutes. Is the prosecution of Capone on income tax violation to excuse the failure of enforcement of criminal laws more directly applicable? Or of Fritz Kuhn for petty larceny to cover the failure to prosecute a multitude of offenses against civil rights?

4. *For agreements to fix prices.* When these involve a direct relationship to labor rates and hours, a close question weighed on labor's side is presented. The evil can, as I have indicated, be reached without applying this law to labor.

5. *For destroying an established system of lawful collective bargaining.* I suppose this means cross-picketing or disestablishment of company unions. Cannot these be left to the Wagner Act, and is not that their proper sphere?

There may be undisclosed yet persuasive reason why the Sherman Act is now being pressed against labor unions. Such reason may be found in the President's own estimate of its negligible results. In the December issue of the *Yale Law Review* the almost fifty years of Sherman law enforcement is summed up as having "for a number of reasons . . . failed utterly in application." For example, as a criminal statute, its chief character, it has resulted in 107 successes as against 95 defeats, and of the former 74 were pleas of guilty or defaults. There were 28 convictions and 31 dismissals of various kinds, not a very impressive record against large industrial capital units which we have seen develop. Is it possible that, to revive public hopes in the Sherman Act, so signally ineffective against large scale capital whose units are too strongly armored, the ancient weapon is now to be turned against trade unions, whose armor is thought to be less durable?

In the American democracy, as indeed everywhere in the world, insecurity reigns. In a society such as we have, labor and capital alike seek security. Fear of insecurity drives each to seek the quick advantage of the other. To the extent that political action has been necessary to prevent gross exploitation and aggression by capital, such legislation has been evidence of an appeal by labor to the proper forum—the legislative halls. The entire purpose of our democratic government is perverted when we use its administrative machinery to prevent the victory of opinion which can adduce reasonable evidence to support its right to dominance, and which has been attained through the legislative process.

These rapid changes in laws dealing with labor and union activities are the natural consequence of changing economic and social conditions which have made changed union activities also necessary. The law enforcement officer or judge who is not sufficiently alert to correlate the law to reality in labor disputes does injury more irreparable by far to society than any allegedly "unlawful" activity in pretended violation of anti-trust laws does to sacred property. Unionism is the result of the evolution of a wage relationship instead of the old status of the individual workers in industry. That relationship demands concerted action over broad areas, in whole industries, in whatever time and place the objective of improved conditions can be best promoted. Law and the courts must recognize this. One would have thought the educational process had filtered through by this time.

There is a relationship between the application of the Sherman law to labor unions and the vital question of preservation of civil rights. Labor's organization, its employment of the only weapon available to it in its struggle for its objectives, are all dependent on a vigilant protection of the basic civil rights of a democratic people. Free speech, free press, free assembly, extension of the suffrage, equal justice under the law—these are the bulwarks without which the strike, the picket, boycott, and collective bargaining must inevitably fail.

It would seem, with capital exulting at the wedge being driven deeper and deeper between labor's two great units, with the Wagner Act and its labor rela-

(Continued on page 33)

Is He American?

BY ALFRED J. BRENNER

IN THE grass-roofed village in Korea where he was born, Younghill Kang tell you, a poet was considered to be a person of importance. Down in the basement of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, surrounded by manuscripts, books, and Oriental art works, as he tells you about his life and work, you realize that in addition to being a poet, this quiet little man with the sensitive mouth that often flicks into shy smiles is a scholar, critic, and teacher of depth and understanding.

But he is a man without a country.

It all goes back to the time when Japan conquered Korea. "Formerly, we had been largely an agricultural nation; but the Japanese industrialized the land almost over night. The havoc caused by these events is one of the world's tragedies." Younghill Kang, then in his teens, was studying and teaching in a missionary school in Japan. Unable to stand by idly, he suffered imprisonment for his anti-Japanese activities, and in 1920 escaped to America where he entered Harvard as a graduate student.

He has never left America. Rather, he has sunk new roots into its soil, marrying an American woman and having two American-born children. He has contributed to the cultural life of the United States: he has written three widely-praised autobiographical books (*The Grass Roof, The Happy Grove,* and *East Goes West);* he has contributed articles to the *Encyclopedia Britannica;* he has won two Guggenheim Foundation awards in creative literature; at present he teaches comparative literature at New York University. "I try to instill within my students the hunger for knowledge and the appreciation of the arts."

But he is a man without a country.

How about citizenship in this country?

He looks at you, his voice betraying deep longing. "There is almost nothing in the world I would like more." Then you remember that in our free country there are laws excluding Orientals from citizenship.

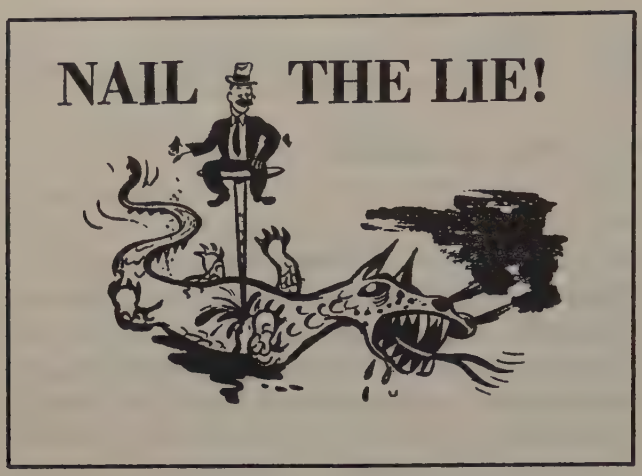
Suddenly he is talking. "Last year a group of my friends gave a party for me. There were speakers. Then from the floor there came suggestions that a committee be formed to help me to become a citizen." He does not like to talk about this. He thinks maybe he is boasting. "Finally last June, Representative Kent E. Keller of Illinois introduced a bill in the House which if passed would make me a citizen. . . . In 1925 when I was hiking down to Manhattan from Maine Mr. Keller happened to pick me up in his automobile and we spent several enjoyable days together. It seems strange that now he should be in Congress introducing a bill to make me a citizen."

He talks about the book he is writing and later, his voice rising and falling, he quotes a passage from Archibald MacLeish's *American Letter:*

> *It is a strange thing—to be an American—*
> *America is neither a land nor a people,*
> *A word's shape it is, a wind's sweep—*
> *America is alone: many together. . . .*

As you take your leave after a luncheon at a little restaurant around the corner, you think of the federal statutes and Supreme Court decisions which exclude all Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos from American citizenship. You think of all the false theories of racial "superiority" on which such laws are based. And you think of the sensitive manner and modest intellect of the man to whom you have just been speaking, and of Archibald MacLeish's lines:

> *It is a strange thing to be an American. . . .*



THE LIE: *That war, by affording high wages, is a boon to labor.*

One of the most persistent of all myths is that during the First World War, American workingmen earned such high wages that they had to splurge on silk shirts and $10 shoes to spend them all. As a matter of fact, labor actually suffered a *loss* in real wages during the period of our participation in the war, to say nothing of undergoing a type of regimentation under governmental war boards inconsistent with the spirit of democracy.

On this page is charted the war-time decline of average annual real wages in American industry, based on the figures of a leading authority, Professor Paul H. Douglas. Prices were rising rapidly, wages were lagging behind, and it was not until after the armistice that the worker recovered his 1916 purchasing power. The chart, if anything, understates labor's plight, inasmuch as *annual* wages include overtime compensation received in certain war industries. A chart of *weekly* or *hourly* wages would show a sharper decline. Writing in the *American Economic Review*, September 1921, Professor Douglas and his colleague, Frances Lamberson, declared:

> All the evidence seems to indicate that at the termination of the great war the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 10 to 20 per cent less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from 7 to 17 per cent less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916.

The silk shirt standard of wages, in sober fact, did not exist except for a handful of highly-skilled craftsmen in shipyards and other boom centers. It is important to deflate this illusion, because the thought of prosperity is tempting to distressed and want-ridden men.

Labor and its spokesmen are fortunately awake to the meaning of war to the people in terms of rising prices and M-Day dictatorship, as indicated by the following quotations:

American Federation of Labor Executive Council report to 59th convention (October 2, 1939): "We are unalterably opposed to our own nation becoming involved in European conflicts."

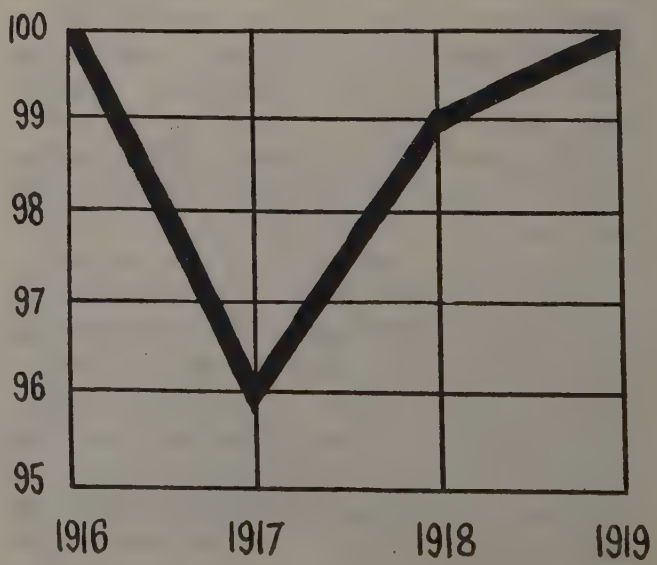
Labor, organ of fifteen standard railroad labor unions: "Labor wants no part in foreign wars."

Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "American labor will resolutely oppose American participation in war."

John L. Lewis, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations: "Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. . . . Profiteering and monopolies raise prices of the goods that workers must buy far more rapidly than their wages. . . . The danger is that while prices soar unchecked except by rhetoric, labor will find itself increasingly restrained in its attempts to adjust wages to the cost of living. These restraints would be exercised in the name of national defense, while all restraints upon the rapacity of the profiteers and munition makers would be relaxed under the same excuse."

American Labor Legislation Review: "Newspaper accounts indicate a revised Industrial Mobilization Plan has been formulated at Washington which declares that protective labor laws and union agreements covering women and children are mostly 'expedient rather than necessary' and that 'in a national emergency much of this expediency is lost and the operations of these regulations and restrictions may well be suspended.' "

HOW REAL WAGES FELL IN WARTIME



(*Continued from page 18*)

terms, so there was no prospect whatever that they would accept the German proposals.

After Colonel House found that Germany would not offer peace terms acceptable to the Allies, he went on to Paris, where he once again committed the United States to a pro-Ally stand and a potential pro-Ally alliance.

House told Premier Briand and Ambassador Jules Cambon that the United States' fondest wish was for the French leaders "to do those things which would help us to help them best." Then the colonel really "got hot" and proceeded to assure the French leaders that, if France seemed to be losing the war, President Wilson would intervene to protect them: "The lower the fortunes of the Allies ebbed, the closer the United States would stand by them."

This was an audacious and desperate statement. The United States is supposed to be a democracy, in which the people control their own destiny. And Congress is supposed to have something to say about whether or not this country will be plunged into war. But, as Professor Tansill fairly puts it, "Colonel House and the President were willing, without the knowledge of Congress or the American people, to pledge American armed support to the cause of the Allies."

The colonel then moved on to London, where he put down the pledge in formal language, in what is known as the House-Grey Agreement. Sir Edward Grey has given us the content of this amazing agreement:

> Colonel House told me that President Wilson was ready, on hearing from France and England that the moment was opportune, to propose that a conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. Should the Allies accept this proposal, and should Germany refuse it, the United States would probably enter the war against Germany.
>
> Colonel House expressed the opinion that, if such a conference met, it would secure peace on terms not unfavorable to the Allies; and, if it failed to secure peace, the United States would leave the conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies, if Germany was unreasonable.

President Wilson okayed this one-sided arrangement with only one slight amendment. He inserted the word "probably," after the statement that the United States would leave the conference as a belligerent on the Allied side.

In spite of the fact that Colonel House and President Wilson thus deliberately loaded the dice in favor of the Allies, the latter were unwilling to go to the "fixed" conference and "shake the bones."

Colonel House had so thoroughly convinced them of the invincible partisanship of the Wilson Administration for the Allied cause that they felt sure that the United States would soon come in on their side, Germany could be crushed, and a dictated peace secured. Why take chances on a conference, where some formal homage would have to be given to reason and common decency?

Though President Wilson repeatedly pressed Grey to act on the House-Grey Agreement, from February 1916 onward, he got no satisfaction. Rather, the Allies waited patiently for President Wilson to be able to throw the United States into war on their side. And he did not disappoint them.

Between January and June 1916, the Allied attitude had been transformed by Colonel House's revelation of the Wilson policy into the "knockout victory" program. It was best expressed by Lloyd George in his famous interview with Roy W. Howard of the United Press, on September 28, 1916, the gist of which was that "the fight must be to a finish —to a knock-out . . . Britain will tolerate no intervention now."

But House and Wilson were not dismayed or disillusioned. Wilson tried, at the Sunrise Conference in April before the 1916 campaign, to throw this country into war. Failing, due to the opposition of Claude Kitchin, Hall Flood, and Champ Clark, he covered up, went before the country on the "he kept us out of war" platform, was re-elected on that stand. A month after his second inauguration, he was telling Congress that "God helping her," this country could do no other than go to war in behalf of the Allies.

The House Mission is worth its weight in platinum today as a warning to Americans against being involved in carnage by any secret and arbitrary acts of the President and his personal envoys.

EQUALITY, 512 Fifth Ave., New York

Gentlemen: Enclosed please find $1.50 in check ☐ money order ☐ cash ☐ for a year's subscription to EQUALITY.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

STATE .....

America's Voteless Millions

BY HELEN BURLIN

ALTHOUGH the spectacle of a nation professing democracy without practicing it is common enough, it is never a pretty one.

In our country, despite the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, millions of citizens are robbed of their right to vote. These millions live in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Many of them are Negroes, but the majority are white.

In these states, during the presidential election of 1936, only 2,679,473 out of an adult population of 11,606,046 cast their ballots. A bare quarter of the population voted to elect their chief executive.

How was this accomplished? Very simply.

Each citizen has to buy a privilege which elsewhere is taken for granted—that of exercising his constitutional right to vote. The state sells the right by levying a poll tax. Those who register and pay may vote. Those who can't, don't.

The poll tax, reminiscent of the head tax of medieval England, was resurrected not during the turbulent Reconstruction era, as many think, but by "white supremacy" conventions in the 1890's and 1900's. Ostensibly to disfranchise the Negro, their real purpose was to break the back of the Populists. In the Populist movement, poor farmers, white and Negro, had found their voice, and were threatening the political hold of the Democratic machines in various southern states.

Together with disfranchisement of the bulk of Negroes through intimidation and various "tests" and of many poor whites through residence requirements which operate against tenant farmers and migrant families, the poll tax is effective in keeping the percentage of the population which votes very small indeed, as the accompanying map shows.

An average farm family in Mississippi has three persons of voting age and an annual income of below $100. The right to vote would cost that family three times $2 or $6—6 per cent of its income. How many households even in fortunate circumstances could afford an investment of these proportions for the sake of exercising the privilege of citizenship? But the matter does not stop there. In some states, Alabama and Georgia, for example, the poll tax is cumulative. If a citizen hasn't registered for several years, or has lost his certificates, the cost of voting mounts into a tidy sum. It cost Arthur Grover Means of Birmingham, a Negro, $36 to vote ($1.50 for every year of his age past his twenty-first birthday), and his determination to pay the price was so unusual that he got his picture in the papers.

Sometimes counties levy an additional poll tax. Mississippi requires besides two years' cumulative poll tax, "satisfactory evidence of payment of [other] taxes." In Arkansas, without a poll tax receipt, one is not only barred from voting but from receiving any license, permit, or wages from public funds. The poll tax becomes a racket in certain localities, notably in Texas, with political machines buying up quantities of blank poll tax receipts and passing them out to complaisant or venal voters (see *Survey Graphic,* January 1940). In some places, poll taxes must be paid as much as six to ten months before election, at a season when cash is especially short in farm households.

The disfranchisement of two-thirds of the population in the poll tax states of the South means in effect the suspension of democracy, as candid Bourbons freely admit. Said the *Tuscaloosa News* recently:

> This newspaper believes in white supremacy, and it believes that the poll tax is one of the essentials for the preservation of

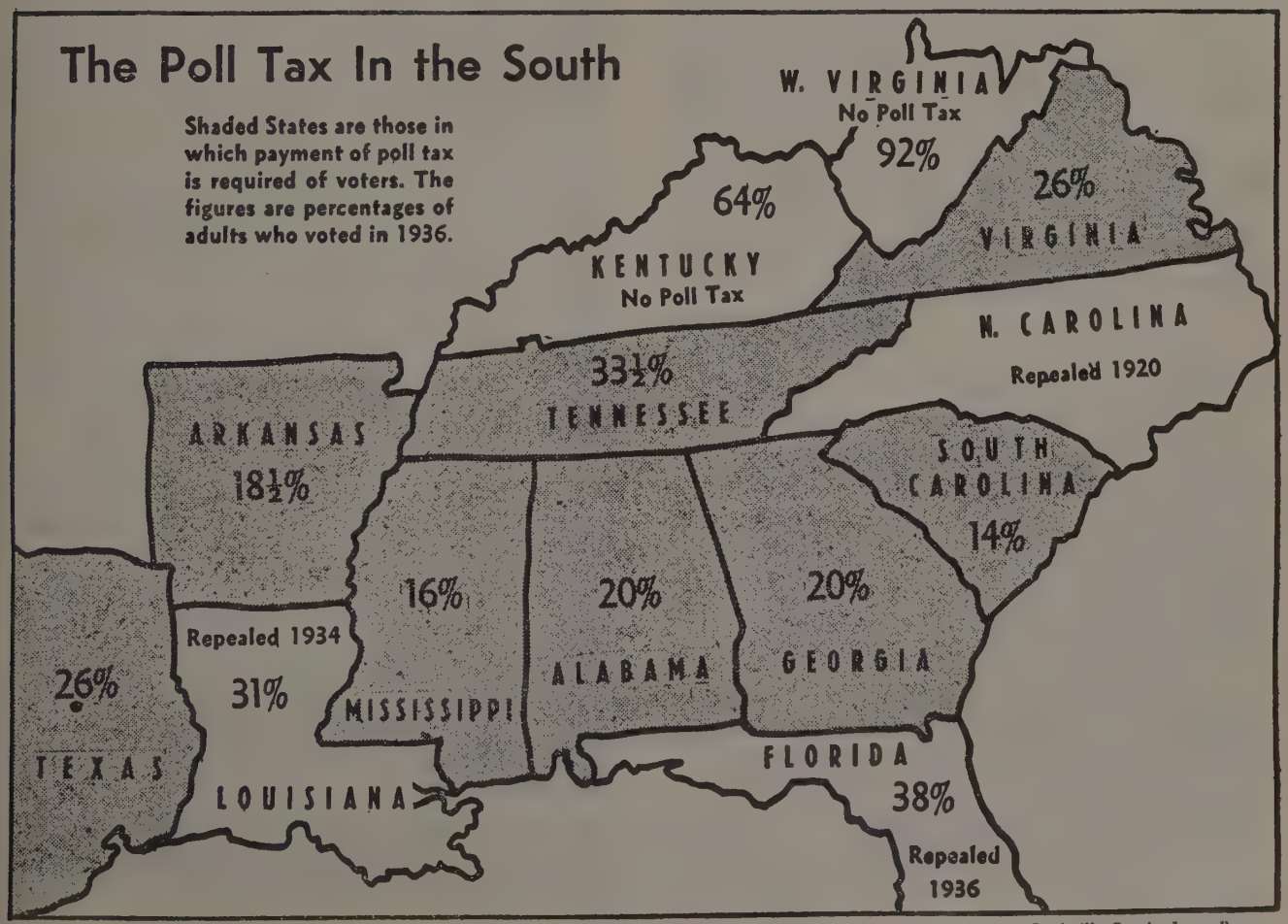
white supremacy. It does not believe in a democracy with a small "d" . . . If it is "undemocratic" to argue for white supremacy—as it certainly is—then we plead guilty to the charge. . . .

Political and economic problems walk hand in hand. The political rule of a privileged minority over large sections of the South helps to make that part of the nation America's Economic Problem No. 1. It guarantees one-party rule, hinders effective political action by masses of the population, and encourages politicians to remain indifferent to popular needs. Illiteracy, child labor, migration, wages 30 to 50 per cent below the national average, hookworm and pellagra, wretched housing—these are some of the crying problems which, if not solely due to lack of the ballot, will hardly receive prime consideration from politicians until their constituencies get the vote.

But it is not the South alone that suffers from the blight of the poll tax. Only recently is recognition beginning to dawn of the degree of control exercised over Congress by poll tax states. The seniority rule in the House and the Senate gives ranking places on important committees to members consistently sure of re-election. This is the secret of why one good piece of legislation after another is throttled in committee and likewise explains the congressional support so easily won by bills that shock most of us as absurd and reactionary. Liberal America is taken aback by the flood of anti-alien bills now before Congress. The chief sponsors of these bills—Senators Russell and Stewart, and Representatives Starnes, Dies, Hobbs, and Smith—all come from poll tax states. The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights has pointed out that all but two important committees in the House and Senate have southern Democrats for chairmen; and the chairman of a standing committee has enormous power. The poll tax bloc has consistently opposed progressive social legislation through its control of the House Rules Committee, the Dies Committee, the Smith Committee to investigate the National Labor Relations Board, and other committees.

The fight against the poll tax is therefore a fight for democracy and the rights of minorities throughout the United States. This fight does not lack support in the heart of Dixie. In recent years three states—North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida—have abolished the poll tax. They were able to do this by action of the legislature; elsewhere the poll tax is

(Continued on page 34)



(Courtesy, Louisville Courier-Journal)

WE CONDEMN

COL. G. BARRETT GLOVER

". . . takes on a nightmare quality . . ."

THE regime of the colonels in the administration of relief in the United States is regarded with alarm in many quarters. The militarization of the humane feelings has its repulsive features; it turns the heart to stone and culturally is a throwback. Should this Prussianization of public relief be extended to other governmental services, American democracy will be in grave danger.

Take the case of Col. G. Barrett Glover. After eight months of investigation of the administration of relief in New Jersey as authorized by the state legislature, he submitted a report literally bristling with bayonets levelled at the hearts of the unemployed and the unfortunate. Among his hair-raising recommendations, he proposes that every "adult, able-bodied male of sound mind" on relief in New Jersey three consecutive years be declared a pauper and his name published as such. Disenfranchisement becomes automatic for such individuals, since Article 2 of the State Constitution provides that no pauper be entitled to vote. This is further implemented by the State Poor Act of 1905 which empowers magistrates to declare indigent persons paupers.

What makes this recommendation truly ominous is the fact that Senator Homer Zink, chairman of the investigating committee, has stated that he and his legislative colleagues concur with Colonel Glover's recommendations, and that "legislative bills will be prepared and introduced with all convenient speed."

Commenting editorially upon the report, the *New York Post* on February 24 wrote: ". . . the savage proposal of Col. G. Barrett Glover for the handling of unemployment relief in New Jersey takes on a nightmare quality."

All Americans, no matter in which state they live, can help dissipate this nightmare by protesting to Gov. Harry Moore at Trenton, New Jersey.

WE APPLAUD

DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

". . . anti-alien bills dangerous . . . to our American democracy."

DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, one of the most revered of American educators, came to this country as an immigrant from Scotland. Together with other noted men of foreign birth such as Steinmetz and Tesla, he sank his roots deep into the American soil.

The debt of gratitude he owed the land of his adoption for the opportunity it gave him to acquire knowledge he has long since repaid with a life of service to the youth of America. It is paradoxical that this man of foreign birth should be one of the leading exponents of the American traditions of the democratic life. Two generations of Columbia, Harvard, and Smith students recall him, not only as a distinguished literary historian and teacher of English, but as an earnest champion of free ideas, civil rights, and the brotherhood of man. This famed editor of the *Cambridge Poets'* edition of Shakespeare and of *Webster's New International Dictionary,* in retiring from the presidency of Smith College, an institution which he made famous, did not sink back into a life of ineffectual ease but stepped boldly into the struggle for "the inalienable rights of man."

The cruel libels flung at the foreign-born by the reactionaries and given menacing concreteness by the introduction of over seventy anti-alien bills in Congress prompted Dr. Neilson to join in the call for a National Conference on the Foreign Born and to preside at the main session of the notable event, held in the nation's capital—March 2 and 3. Perhaps the most extraordinary deliberating body ever to have assembled in defense of civil and minority rights in America, its proceedings are summarized elsewhere in this issue.

To Dr. Neilson, for acting on behalf of the newer Americans at a time like this, all Americans owe a vote of thanks.

Defense of the Foreign Born

An editorial

"EVERY AMERICAN," said President Roosevelt his message of greeting to the annual conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in Washington, "takes pride in our tradition of hospitality to men of all races and all creeds. We must be constantly vigilant against the attacks of intolerance and injustice. We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all citizens, whatever their background. We must remember that any oppression, any injustice, any hatred, is a wedge designed to attack our civilization."

The President's message was most timely, and so was the successful two-day conference held last month. In periods of unusual tension, our foreign-born neighbors invariably are regarded as fair game by scapegoat-seekers, who loudly demand repressive and discriminatory measures against them. The seventy-odd anti-alien bills now awaiting the action of Congress bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the baiters of the foreign-born are out in full pack. Among provisions of these bills, some of which are dangerously close to passage, are the following: provision for the registration and finger-printing of all non-citizens; for the deportation of those who belonged to proscribed organizations at any time in the past; registration of American-born children of non-citizens and for deportation for failure to become a citizen; deportation of non-citizens on relief for six months during the past three years; deportation of all non-citizens and exclusion of all immigration; deportation of non-citizens whose presence is "inimical" to public interest; deportation of those with "evil reputations," etc.

Methods of combatting such bills were discussed at length at the conference, which was sponsored by a notable group, headed by the novelist, Ernest Hemingway, and the educator, Dr. William A. Neilson. The conference was attended by 400 delegates from twenty-five states, representing 228 fraternal, social, civic, labor, and youth organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 5,500,000 members. Among those who addressed the gathering were Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress; James B. Carey, national secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Carey McWilliams, California State Commissioner of Immigration; U. S. Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and James E. Murray of Montana, and several members of the House of Representatives.

Lines of action suggested by the conference included proposals for special state-wide, city, and neighborhood meetings aimed at protecting the rights of the foreign-born and the adoption of resolutions by organizations against the anti-alien bills before Congress and various state legislatures. Conference resolutions condemned many specific anti-alien measures in Congress; expressed alarm and disapproval of the discrimination displayed by certain federal agencies against non-citizens employed in industrial plants doing work under governmental contracts; and voiced support of a number of bills before Congress facilitating the naturalization of non-citizens.

Noting that as the 76th Congress nears adjournment, efforts will be made to jam through some of the anti-alien measures, the conference warned believers in democratic rights to be on the alert for last-minute maneuvers and to hasten appropriate letters and resolutions to Congress.

Four bills in particular make immediate effective protest necessary:

1. *Smith gag bill* (*H.R.* 5318) with a federal criminal syndicalism clause applicable to both citizens and aliens. As it has passed the House, protests should be directed to one's own Senators and to Hon. Henry F. Ashurst, Arizona, Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee.

2. *Hobbs concentration camp bill* (*H.R.* 5643) to intern deportable aliens unable to get passports. Passed by the House. Protests to one's Senators.

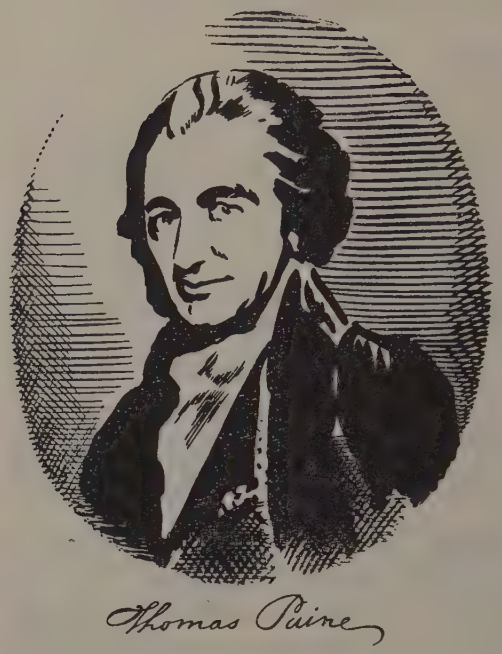
3. *Dempsey bill* (*H.R.* 4860) which would make aliens deportable even for belonging to organizations which advocate constitutional changes in our form of government. Passed by the House, this bill should be protested to one's Senators and to Hon. Richard B. Russell, Georgia, Chairman, Senate Immigration Committee.

4. *Reynolds bills* (*S.* 409 *and S.* 3201) would introduce European police registration systems for aliens, which in turn would logically compel citizens to seek identification papers. The bills would likewise restrict or prohibit quota immigration. Protests to one's Senators.

Builders of Democracy

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

THOMAS PAINE
Apostle of Liberty



THE LAST MONTHS of '76 witnessed the darkest phase of the Revolutionary War. The infant republic, bravely born on July 4, seemed to be headed for a speedy death. The redcoats had delivered smashing defeats to Washington's Continentals in the battles of Long Island and New York, and had chased them clear through New Jersey and across the Delaware. The rebel band was weary, underfed, tattered, and discouraged. Men were deserting in increasing numbers and going back to their farms; the cause looked well-nigh hopeless. Even the faith of the great Washington himself wavered for a moment.

Almost overnight, this atmosphere of extreme demoralization disappeared like a sultry haze before a sudden fresh wind. It was mainly a pamphlet that brought about this remarkable change; it was the *Crisis,* a passionate appeal to the American patriots to stand by their guns. Every paragraph, every line breathed hope, courage, and a deep faith in the cause of democratic independence which was at issue. Published December 23, 1776, it was, on General Washington's order, read to every corporal's guard in the Continental camp. We may imagine the thrill of the soldiers, listening to those famous opening words as they were read over the campfires: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldiers and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." On Christmas Eve the inspired men under Washington crossed the Delaware and took Trenton in a surprise attack: the watchword that night was, "These are the times that try men's souls." This victory, in which a little pamphlet played an important part, marked a decided turn in the tide of the war.

The *Crisis* was signed by "Common Sense," a name already familiar in nearly every American household. The man behind that pseudonym was Thomas Paine. Born at Thetford, England, in 1737, he had come to America in 1774, a sick and virtually penniless immigrant, armed only with a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, whom he had known in London. Joining Franklin's progressive circle of friends in Philadelphia, Paine took up the pen, and his radical articles soon earned him the epithet of "intermeddling foreigner" among the entrenched Tories.

In January 1776, at a time when the colonists were uncertain and confused as to their political course and ultimate goal, when only a few bold souls dared dream of completely shaking off the ties that bound them to Britain, Paine published his epochal pamphlet, *Common Sense,* which sounded the clarion call to freedom. "O, ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been haunted round the globe. . . . Europe regards her

like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O, receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind." Conciliation with Britain was futile, he wrote; complete separation and the founding of a truly representative republic must be the immediate goal. "Nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence."

Common Sense electrified the people. Written for the common man, in his own language (and this by a "greenhorn"!), it was the first publication to proclaim the doctrine of American independence. Within three months 120,000 copies were sold. The pamphlet was passed from hand to hand, reaching into the remotest corners of colonial America; the illiterate had it read to them; it was eagerly discussed everywhere. No American pamphlet before or since ever approached it in influence. It crystallized the hitherto vague sentiments of liberty among the people; in the minds and hearts of many it transformed hesitation and uncertainty to firm decision. The path was cleared for the Declaration of Independence.

It was Paine's fervent hope that the Negro slave would be included in the blessing of liberty. He was one of the earliest abolitionists; his very first article in America was an attack on the slavery system. "Forget not the hapless African!" he pleaded, shortly before the Declaration of Independence was drafted.

As the Revolution proceeded, Paine followed up his original *Crisis* with twelve more numbers, similarly aimed to bolster the morale of both the soldier and the civilian population. The end of the war found him extremely popular and very poor. Having, like his friends Franklin and Jefferson, an inventive talent, he designed a single-arch iron bridge, and in 1787 he journeyed to Europe to attract interest in his experiment, intending to return within a year. However, he became enveloped in a series of historic events which kept him abroad fourteen years. Space limitations prevent a detailed account of his work in Europe as apostle of democracy—of his active part in behalf of the French Revolution; of the writing of his great pamphlet, *The Rights of Man* (1782), the most eloquent exposition and defense of the democratic republic up to that time, and an effective answer to Edmund Burke's contemptuous attack on "the swinish multitude"; of his agitation for democracy in Great Britain which came closer to overthrowing the monarchy and aristocracy than many now realize; of his escape from England, with the aid of the poet, William Blake, when his arrest was sought on the charge of sedition; of his election to the French Assembly, and his subsequent imprisonment, during which he wrote his *Age of Reason*. Beloved by the lowly everywhere, he was so hated by those in high places that English aristocrats took to wearing nails initiated "T.P." on their boots so that they could tread on him vicariously.

Paine returned to America in 1802, retiring to a farm in New Rochelle which the State of New York had presented to him in 1784 in appreciation of his services to the American Revolution. Subjected to an unceasing campaign of character-assassination on the part of unscrupulous reactionaries, his heroic deeds forgotten by all but a few, Paine spent the remaining years of his life in quiet seclusion and died in 1809—a year which marked the birth of another and still greater torch-bearer of democracy, Abraham Lincoln.

Franklin had said, "Where liberty is, there is my country.' Even more eloquent was Paine's motto: "Where liberty is *not*, there is my home." He advanced the credo: "The world is my country, to do good is my religion." He hoped passionately for the extension of democracy throughout the earth, and he tried his utmost to make his dream of a "Republic of Man" come true.

THROWBACK TO DANBURY HATTERS

(*Continued from page 24*)

tions boards assailed before their true worth can be appraised, with war hysteria and witch-hunts again on the threshold—that the government has now assailed the organized trade union movement on both flanks. The warning to labor should not be lost. It is earnestly hoped that Mr. Arnold's blast does not represent administration policy. It is the very negation of the Roosevelt New Deal and its great contributions to the forward progress of the American trade union movement.

One final word. This warning of the erstwhile professor and author is not hasty vaporing. It gives evidence of some careful planning. Scarcely hidden, however, is its actual threat to labor unions and their only effective weapons. The danger lies in the fact that labor cannot know when its acts will run into criminal prosecution, to say nothing of civil damage suits. The warning is equally applicable to A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Here is an issue on which they can unite, here a common meeting ground, to combine forces and prevent the nullification of labor's gains through the distortion and misapplication of anti-trust laws. They have not long to wait.

THE KLAN HATES THEM ALL

(Continued from page 14)

Church the night before election to discuss candidates, and on their way home were met by a Klan parade. Lynch ropes dangled from sedan doors, and a Negro who "voted" was hanged in effigy.

"We did not turn aside," one of the Negroes told me, "but drove slowly along the whole procession. At its end, we turned around and drove along side again. They were travelling slowly, burning huge crosses in the middle of business intersections.

"Negroes were moving along at a distance, upsetting them and extinguishing the flames. Reaching my office, I found about fifty persons. Many more came.

"While we were discussing the parade and its effect upon prospective voters, the question, 'What are we going to do?' was asked me. I replied, 'I don't know what you are going to do, but I am going to vote.' Whereupon, someone answered, 'Well, if you are going to vote, we are also.' Then and there, the decision was made to vote the next day regardless of the cost.

"We are going to vote"

"A few minutes later, the telephone rang, and the *Miami Herald* wanted to know if I had seen the parade. I told them I had. Whereupon they wanted to know whether we were going to vote or give up the idea. I replied, 'The Klan parade has inspired us. We are going to vote tomorrow in larger numbers than we would have had this thing not happened.' And I added, 'If you see the klansmen headed back this way, don't try to stop them. I have a delegation of fifty men waiting to receive them, and two hundred more will come, if I step outside and whistle.' We have not seen the klansmen any more. The organization is disbanded in Miami.

"An amusing incident which I recall, was of a Negro minister, who really had voting in his soul. After casting his ballot, he was standing around looking at others. An officer approached him and said, 'Reverend, have you voted?' The minister answered, 'Yes, I have.' The officer then said, 'Well, do you see that little bunch of white men standing over there?' 'Yes I do,' replied the minister. The officer answered, 'They're mad as hell, and if I were you, I'd move along.' The minister said, 'All right. But do you see that bunch of Negroes coming up the street?' The officer looked around and answered, 'Yes I do.' The minister said, 'They're mad as hell too.'"

AMERICA'S VOTELESS MILLIONS

(Continued from page 29)

written into state constitutions and its removal requires more complicated procedure. In Tennessee, however, a campaign by the League of Women Voters, the Parent-Teacher Association, and other groups threatens to bring the poll tax to an end.

In the deeper South, with its black belts, the resistance of entrenched political machines makes state action in the near future seem improbable. Hence the attack on the poll tax is following a different strategy. In Alabama the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has filed several court actions in support of the right to register. In Tennessee, the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has brought the case of Henry Pirtle into federal court on the ground that states cannot lawfully prevent citizens from voting in federal elections for nonpayment of a state poll tax. Crampton Harris, Pirtle's counsel and former partner of Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black, argues that "a state might just as well try to tax the U. S. mails as a U. S. election" and that "there can be no democracy unless every man and woman is free to vote."

Most important of all is the bill H.R. 7534, prepared by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and introduced in Congress by Representative Lee E. Geyer of California. It makes unlawful the requirement of a poll tax for voting in any federal election. Hearings took place March 6 before a sub-committee headed by Rep. Francis Walter of Pennsylvania and the bill is so framed that if favorably reported out and passed, the Supreme Court probably will uphold it.

While economic and political freedom in the South are of prime importance to those who live there, the problem is more far-reaching than that. Our progress as a nation is indivisible and the only way to safeguard prosperity and freedom is to combat all and any manifestations of oppression and demagogic rule.

New York Teachers

Teachers in the New York area who are interested in *Equality's* program of civil liberties and racial and religious tolerance are invited to meet at the *Equality* office, 512 Fifth Ave., Room 701, at 2 P. M. Saturday, April 6. Auspices: Teachers' Committee Sponsoring *Equality.*

BOOKS

Our foreign-born neighbors

AMERICANS IN THE MAKING. By William Carlson Smith. 454 pages. D Appleton-Century Co. $3.75.

SOME seventy anti-alien bills pending in Congress herald a campaign to make the immigrant the scapegoat for our social ills. Measures of the Walsh, Hobbs, and Reynolds variety call for the elimination of all immigration and a general clamping down on the foreign-born. They propose that aliens be registered, fingerprinted, dismissed from jobs, and yes, even confined to concentration camps.

In this atmosphere, Professor Smith offers a timely, information-packed, well-documented statement of the case of the democrat against the immigrant-baiters. He proves clearly that America has been literally a nation of immigrants seeking refuge from the religious, economic, and political oppressions of old-world countries. From its inception, he emphasizes, this nation became a haven of equality for foreign-born groups. Moreover these groups have enriched American civilization immeasurably.

Do the foreign-born desire assimilation into American life? Professor Smith thunders a resounding, Yes! Certain influences, however, he points out, are preventing this. Industrial enslavement of the foreign-born is a persistent evil. Likewise propaganda of pseudo-scientists like Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, setting forth their spurious claim that inferior racial strains of the foreign-born will "mongrelize" the pure American Nordic race (sic!), causes incalculable harm. Attacks on their civil liberties, such as the illegal practices of the Palmer-Daugherty-Burns period, lead the foreign-born to mistrust American institutions. Various legal restrictions are placed upon the alien. These negative influences, Professor Smith believes, must be eliminated if we are to Americanize the non-citizen.

Professor Smith has given us one of the most complete, original studies written to date by any American sociologist on the assimilation of the immigrant and his children. His work, however, falls short in one respect. He fails to emphasize adequately the tie-up between Know-Nothingism and reaction. It is no accident that fascist groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and the Christian Front feature alien-baiting as one of their chief planks. Reaction uses immigrant-baiting as an instrument like anti-Semitism to confuse the people as to the true causes of social ills, and more immediately, to suppress the civil liberties of, first, the aliens and then the entire population.

JACOB KAPLAN

The undecided battle

CRUSADERS FOR AMERICAN LIBERALISM. By Louis Filler. 422 pages. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

MR. FILLER wrote a book on a clear-cut subject, but his conclusions seem to be somewhat vague. The factual material, as presented by him, is extraordinarily lucid: it recaptures a significant era—the first decade of the present century; it recapitulates the work of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, David Graham Phillips, S. S. McClure, Upton Sinclair, Charles Edward Russell, and other great muckrakers; in the very style of presentation it breathes some of that passion which characterized the literature in question.

Fighting liberals are also people, the author seems to say. They should be respected for the sincerity of their convictions, the objectivity of their approach, their frequent lack of self-righteousness, their good humor about the long list of their causes. Some of the muckrakers lacked a definite philosophy of life and letters, it is true, but the totally unprincipled writers, such as Josiah Flint, were the exception rather than the rule.

The author soberly and correctly shows that not all muckrakers were striving toward socialism, but that all worked in response to the public demand "to strengthen the middle class and the working class" against the upper classes within the existing frame of capitalistic society. He relates in detail how their attack upon the malefactors of wealth brought reform in the fields of stock manipulations and banking, insurance and city government, railroads and pure food and child labor. He tells the story fully, interestingly, accurately. He becomes verbose and misty when he tries to evaluate the long-run effects of muckraking and the reforms it caused.

How deep, how lasting were the reforms? Here Mr. Filler seems to be of two minds: the muckrakers, he sums up on his final page, "achieved tangible results" yet "fell short of completing their work," for "they retreated in the face of organized business's attacks, and they broke down completely in their first experience with international affairs" by cheering for war in 1917. Will today's crusaders for liberalism (we may ask) repeat the mistakes of their predecessors in this new era of war and domestic tension? Or may we hope that some of them, at least, will take their courageous stand for a liberalism that is thoroughly consistent with the maintenance of peace and the extension of democratic rights?

ALBERT PARRY

Does Their Nationality Really Matter?

War in Europe has intensified the suffering of refugee children. France has a million additional refugees today. Word from our nine children's colonies in and around Biarritz, France, has come telling of the pressing needs of refugee children outside the gates of our colonies.

Soon children of all nationalities will live side by side in our colonies—an example to the world of brotherly love. Funds are now needed to equip colony houses for German, Polish and Spanish children living in concentration centers in France. Does their nationality really matter? They are little ones without a homeland. Some have parents, others have lost their parents during the hardship and struggle. War in Europe makes departure to other lands impossible for the present.

Refugees can leave the concentration centers if they are assurd proper employment. If we could take their children into the colonies the parents might go off to their jobs with light hearts, knowing that their little ones were being cared for. Refugees earn little and can barely provide for themselves.

It costs $9.00 per month to "adopt" a child. You will receive a photograph of your child along with its history. The child will write to you and of course you will want to carry on a correspondence. If you cannot afford to "adopt" a child, your contribution, no matter how small, to help these children will be gratefully appreciated. Our funds are cabled direct through the Chase National Bank to our colony headquarters in Biarritz. Safe delivery is guaranteed.

EDNA BLUE, Executive-Chairman

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS AND FOSTER PARENTS

Helen Hayes	Archibald MacLeish	Mrs. Stephen Wise
Dr. Mary E. Woolley	Lillian D. Wald	Eleanor Roosevelt
Thomas Mann	Emanuel Feuerman	Efrem Zimbalist

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN FOR WAR CHILDREN, INC.
55 West 42nd Street, New York City

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a German ☐ Child for one year. If *Cross*
Polish ☐
Spanish ☐
possible, sex.....age.....I will pay $9.00 per month for one year. Payments to be made quarterly....., yearly....., monthly..... I enclose herewith my first payment $.....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child but would like to help by donating $.....

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State..... Date.....

Facts to Fight Prejudice...

Powerful propaganda groups in this country have been alarmingly effective in popularizing the idea that immigrants represent a subversive influence in our common life. Facts and figures are needed by all who would seek to overcome these prejudices created by anti-alien organizations.

Here is an authoritative study, already used extensively by the major refugee service organizations, edited by representatives of three faiths: Rev. John P. Boland, Eduard C. Lindeman and Harry L. Lurie, titled:

THE NEW IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

CONTRIBUTORS AND SUBJECTS

Madge M. McKinney..	"The Right of Asylum"
Edward Corsi.....	"Immigration Trends"
Robert G. Spivack....	"Social Contributions of New Immigrants"
Marion Schibsby.....	"Who Is the New Immigrant"
Cecilia Razovsky	"How Does the Immigrant Get Here?"
Emma S. Schreiber...	"Americanization"
Erika Mann.....	"Story of an Immigrant"
Maxwell Stewart	"The Immigrant as a Worker"
Franz Boas	"Anti-Alien Legislation"
Joanna Colcord.....	"Social Workers Among the Immigrants"
Amelia Igel.....	"Individualized Service to the Refugee"

"Organizational Assistance" by:

William Haber, Director, National Refugee Service; Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee; Evelyn W. Hersey, American Committee for Christian Refugees; Joseph D. Ostermann, Committee for Catholic Refugees Coming from Germany

Selected Bibliography of Recent Literature on the Subject

SOCIAL WORK TODAY
112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Please send me.....copies of "The New Immigration to the United States." I enclose ..... ($.25 per copy).

Name .....

Address .....